

THE
TRIALLOF
Witch-craft,

SHEWING
THE TRVE AND
RIGHT METHODE
of the Discouery:

WITH
A Confutation of erroneous wayes.

By IOHN COTTA, Doctor in Physicke.



LONDON,
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THE TRIAL OF

Which consists

in

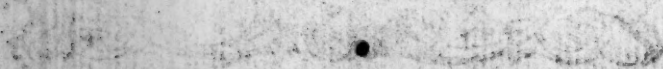
THE FIVE AND
RIGHT METHOD

of the Discovery:

WITH

A Collection of several papers.

By John Gott, Doctor in Physick.



1760

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TO THE RIGHT HONORA-

ble, Sir *Edward Coke* Knight, Lord Chiefe Iustice of

England, and one of his Maiesties most honourable priuie

Councell, and to the rest of the honourable and

worthie IVDGES.

(*)



Right honourable Lords, where according vnto the direction of good lawes, gracious Soueraignes nobly rule, and loyall Subiects freely obey, there the Common-weale, which is the common good of both, produceth the most royall, happy and stable Monarchy. If euer any Kingdome hath been fortunate, to giue a true mirror and example of this happinesse, this famous Iland hath been therein incomparable, wherein so many puissant Monarchs, successiue swaying this Emperiall Diademe, according vnto the ancient Lawes and Customes of this Nation, haue so many hundredths of yeares gouerned this mighty people in peace and honour at home, and victoriously led them in triumphant warre abroad, as by the glorious trumpe of forreine and domestike fame and Historie is not obscure. The splendor of this truth, the iniurious asperion of insufficiencie in our English laws, cannot without shame or blushing guilt behold. Notwithstanding, since in some few things to be wanting, was neuer as yet wanting in the most exquisite lawes, policy and state that euer hath been, and since the Lawe of God it selfe (though perfect in it selfe) through humane imperfection in the true perfection was neuer yet seene, giue mee

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

leauē through all lawes and Countries in one particular to wonder at their generall defect. What Lawe or Nation in the detection of Witches, and Witch-craft, hath as yet euer appeared competent, or from iust exception exempt? How vncertaine are among all people differing iudgements? Some iudge no Witches at all, others more then too many, others too few by many, in so opposite extremes, so extremely opposite: I doe not presume to prescribe how a lawe may become more absolute or perfect, I onely labour and enquire to learne. Among many generall directions by different Authors, diuersly published, concerning the perfecting of particular lawes, (as farre as perfection is possible vnto humane frailty) *Demosthenes* in his second Oration against *Aristogiton*, in my thought doth seeme to equall (if not exceede) the most exquisite. Three things sayth he (as may be plainly out of the forenamed place collected) doe concurre vnto the vpright constitution of euery complete lawe, whereby it may be held sacred and inuiolate. The first is, that it be *εὐνομία* καὶ δαεινότης, that is, that it bee the ordinance and gift of God. Secondly, that it bee *σοφία καὶ προνοία ἀνδραγατών*, that is, the sage and iudicious decree and counsell of the most wise and prudent. The third is, that it bee *πλεῖστος συνθήκη κοινῇ*, that is, the vniuersall consent of the whole state, City or countrey. Certainly, the true cause of the forementioned generall lamenesse, and confusion of Laws in the proposed case of Witch-craft consisteth herein. First, for that men haue not as yet sufficiently searched the holy Scriptures to finde out that *δρῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, that is, what is the ordinance of God therein. Secondly, for that men haue not seriously consulted with that wisdom and prudence, which by the light of nature and reason Almighty God hath left discoverable and allowed to be iustly and truly deemed, *σοφία καὶ προνοία ἀνδραγατών*, that is, the sage counsell, determination and decree of the most iudicious, prudent and wise men.

When

When these two are met and are agreed; namely, the ordinance of God, and the vpright & sincere counsell of the most holy, prudent and wise men, purposely studied, and without superstition exercised therein: then wil the happy harmony of all mens hearts become easily tunable thereto, which is, *πῶς αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλῳ*, that is, the common consent of Prince, People, and Countrey. Vnto this faire worke and building of God: let it not seeme presumption, that I offer this my moyrie of desire, and good will. I know that in this subiect, many ages of learned Authors, haue endlessly varied, many famous Writers haue been branded with infamous errors, many excellent wits haue runne themselves almost out of their wits, and those who haue best deserued, their trembling pens haue negligantly dropped, and timorously pointed out any fully, or firmly auouched certainty. It is notwithstanding no breach of rule of modesty, but by bounden duty, vnto the accomplishment and honour of truth, to adde whatsoeuer in my vtmost endeaour may be condu cible. Neither would my many conflicts, with difficulties in this kinde, hold me excused, if so oft spurred, or rather galled, by so frequent exercise, practice and conuersation, with persons in so diuers extraordinary manners afflicted, and supposed bewitched; it should awake no answerable dispatch or display therein. Let it then seeme no wonder, that a man (though lesse then the least among men) who hath not onely as studiously as others laboured the same particular, and as diligently therein obserued, but hath farre more happily been fortunèd then others, with frequent matter, and occurrents worthy obseruation, and hath also beene more plentifully gratified with opportunitie, to enrich his vnderstanding with variety and worth of objects, instructing his reason, and confirming his experience: Let it seeme no wonder (I say) that a meane wit, thus beyond others furnished thereto, may aduenture amiddest so many doubts and ambiguities, wherewith so many worthies haue been formerly intangled and perplexed, to auouch

and proue certainty, and demonstration. In this subiect of Witchcraft, by better meanes aduantaged, if beyond former times or Writers, I haue haply proposed a more direct and certaine module and methode of iudging therein, I doe not thereby arrogate vnto my selfe, but attribute vnto the meanes, nor derogate from others, whom if the like contingence of the same helpes, had as freely and friendly affronted, and the like facilitie had opened as ready accessse, I acknowledge in the guilty sense of my owne exiguity (whether in the outward beauty of words, or inward substance of vnderstanding) it had been easie for any man to exceed with so good meanes this so euil meanenesse of my performance. Since then (Right Honourable Lords) the subiect it selfe, & a pertinent and peculiar vse therein, doe point vnto your Honours the propertie of this Dedication, vnto whose tribunall the lawes of God and men appeale against that foule abominable sinne, let it not bee censured pride or presumption, humbly to present vnto your Lordship that consideration and resolution which beyond my merit or desert, Occurrents haue freely administred vnto long-distracted meditation. If there may appeare therein ought aduancing truth, or seruiceable vnto the common-weale, vouchsafe for those good respects, it may be gracious in your eyes, acceptable and worthy your noble fauours and protection, against the iniuries of aduerse obdurate custome, ignorance, enuy, and the vulgar indignation of common receiued and deceiued opinion. In the meane season, my deuoted heart shal deuoutly pray vnto Almighty God for your Lordships long life, the multiplication of many happy dayes, redoubled honour in your seruice of God, your King and Countrey, and after this life, that life which euer lasteth.

*Your Lordships, in the most humble desire, and tender
of his deuotions seruice and obseruance.*

JOHN COTTA.

T O



TO THE READER.



NGenious Reader, in this subiect of Witch-craft which I here present vnto thee, thou art not ignorant, what obscuritie, difficultie, difference, contrarietie and contradiction hath among Authors and learned men in all ages arisen. From the effusion of generall ignorance, or superstitious blindnesse herein, willing to withdraw the vulgar illusion; I haue indenuoured demonstratinely to declare what portion of certaintie in such vncertainties, God and Nature hath destined & allowed. It is not any worth either arrogated vnto my self, or derogated from others, but my studious desire and vehement affection in this particular, together with some speciall experience & paines vpon diuers occurrents, & occasions extraordinarily hapning, that hath drawne me forth to offer my opinion as the widdowes mite, more haply in good will, and hartly affection, then in true valew or deserued esteeme. If it may only giue occasion vnto a more exquisite pensell, it is the heighth of my intention, and a complete recompence of my indenuour. For this cause, and for common easie reading and apprehension, I haue purposely auoided, and discontinued the smooth thrid of a continued laboured stile, and haue for the most part preferred and inserted a plaine texture, of a more vulgar and carelesse phrase and word. The ennious haply may cauill, that a Physicion out of his owne supposed precincts, should rush into sacred lists, or enter vpon so high points of Diuinitie, as by an vnanoidable intercurrance, do necessarily

necessarily insert themselves in this proposed subject. Diuinitie it selfe doth herein answere them. In the theory of Theologie, it is the duety and praise of euery man, to bee without curiositie fruitfully exercised.

For as touching matter of Diuinitie, as it falleth out, or is incident in the discourse of this small Treatise, I onely propound such reasons and considerations therein, as in common are allowable and commendable in euery Christian man, and therein I doe neither vsurpingly controule others, nor controulingly conclude my selfe, but willingly submit vnto the graue censure and dictature of the learned and reuerend Diuine. If therefore (good Reader) I haue here published or communicated vnto thee ought thanks-worthy, as it is by me freely intended vnto thee; so let it not from me be vnfriendly extended by thee. If I haue in ought erred, let it be thy praise and goodnes to make thy vse thereof without abuse. If thou hast formerly thought amisse, and doest here reade that is more right, bee not ashamed to acknowledge thy better knowledge. If thou list not to know, then know, that truth shall iudge thee, and iustifie her selfe without thee.

Thy well-willing friend,

IOHN COTTA.

THE



THE TRIALL OF WITCH-CRAFT:

*Shewing, the true and right Method
of the Discouerie.*

CHAP. I.

*Of naturall knowledge, and how it is solely acquired, either by Sense,
or Reason, or by artificiall and prudent coniectation.*



S there is one onely Infinite,
which hath created all things
finite : so is there one onely fi-
nite, most neerly like vnto that
Infinite , which is wisdom
and knowledge in men and
Angels. The knowledge which
is giuen to Angels , is onely
knowne to God and Angels.
The knowledge which is gi-
uen to man, is knowne by man,
limited, measured and confined. It is therefore by the most
wise Philosophers and fathers, of former times, and the Sages
of later times and ages agreed, by a generall consent and har-
mony

alig. de
til. Exercit.
sect. 22

mony of the same truth, that all things which are allotted man to know or vnderstand, are by two waies or instruments soly to be atchieued or hoped. The first of these is the inward vnderstanding: the second is the outward sense. The vnderstanding hath knowledge diuers wayes. First immediately, by an inbred Idea, and vnderstanding of certaine general notions common vnto all men, and in them and with them born. This, though intellectuall, may be in some sort assimilated vnto that naturall instinct in bruit creatures; by which, when they come first into the world, yet immediately by the direction of Nature, they refuse, and flie from that which is euill and harmefull, and seek and know that which is needfull vnto their life and preservation. Secondly, the vnderstanding hath knowledge by ratiocination, by the discourse and vse of reason. By this ratiocination, we do in many things gaine a^b certainty of knowledge; in othersome a probability and likelihood onely of certainty, yet oft-times in a very great neerenesse^c and affinity with certainty. Knowledge likewise cometh by the outward senses, which do certainly and vndoubtedly informe the vnderstanding concerning their seuerall proper objects, where the faculty is sound, and the instruments of sense, and the outward meanes of conueyance are rightly disposed.

Among these five senses, the sight and hearing, the eye and eare, are the most excellent and chiefe wayes of multiplication and increase of naturall knowledge. Besides these wayes of knowledge; namely, the inward and the outward sense, there neuer was, nor euer can be enumeration of any other. For this cause the Philosophers haue diuided all things that are incident vnto mankinde, to know or vnderstand; either vnto such things as immediately^d in their very first thought or mention do proue themselves, and at the first consideration or sight are euident vnto all men; or such as are directly inferred and necessarily proued by other propositions, or such as by prudent gesse onely and likely coniecture giue a faire probability of truth and certainty. Such things as immediately

Omnis syllogismus, vel regularis, & ratiocinatio est demonstratio, vel dialectica Aristot. Analyt. Dialectic^{us} syllogismus, vel ratiocinatio, ex oppositionibus dialecticis, vel probabilibus, et non certis demonstratio syllogismus, tamen veris indicia constituit, ideoque est verarum opinionum fundamentum, Aristot. ibid. Hinc Syllogismi perfecti & imperfecti ratio ex Aristot.

atly proue themselves, and are vndoubted, in their first view, are subiect either to the sense onely, or vnto the vnderstanding onely. Such things as are only proper to the sense, and thereto immediatly and properly subiect, are things seene, heard, touched, tasted, smelt, as colours, figures, lineaments, sounds, musike, hardnesse, softnesse, drinessse, moisture, roughnesse, smoothnesse, sowre, sweete, diuersity of odours and the like: in which, without the vse of the fiue senses, men cannot be sensible or know any thing in this inferiour world vnder the heavens. Such things as are subiect vnto the vnderstanding onely, and not vnto the sense, and immediatly proue themselves, are generall notions and receptions, inseparably fixed in the vnderstanding of all men. Of this kind are these positions in Philosophie. All things that are made haue their matter, out of which they were made, haue their speciall formes and difference, by which they are apart that they are: and lastly to that being, which they are, are risen from that which they were not. Likewise, these positions in Logicke: Euery proposition is true or false, affirmatiue or negatiue, and extendeth generally vnto all vnder the same kinde, or to some particulars, or to a singular, or is indefinite. Likewise, in Arithmaticke these: One is no number, one cannot bee diuided, or is indiuisible; foure is more then two. Likewise, in Physicke these: Euery man is sicke or healthful, or a neuter: Contraries are cured by contraries, as heat by cooling, cold by heating, moysture by drying, drynesse by moysting. As in these named Sciences, so in all other; there are the like generall notions, immediatly at the first viewe proouing themselves vnto the vnderstanding, and euery man in common sense and reason, immediatly consenteth vnto their truth; and he that denieth it, or seeketh prooffe thereof, is esteemed iustly madde, or voyd of reason.

* *Materiam,
Formam,
Priuationem.*

There are other things also subiect vnto the vnderstanding only, which do not immediatly vpon the first view or consideration (as the former) proue themselves, but are proued by others more cleere and euident then themselves; as

this proposition. The motion of the heauens is not infinite. This is not manifest vnto euery man at first view, but requirereth another more manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest, thus: That which hath a certaine limitted course, circumuolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Astronomie for many thousands of yeares hath discovered the courses, periods, reuolutions, and set perambulations of the heauens, and therefore the motions of the heauens cannot be infinite. It may here easily be obserued, how the first position being vnable to proue it selfe, vnto another more manifest doth giue it light, and doth deduce it vnto that, which doth so immediately proue it selfe but common sense and reason, and obseruation of all ages and times, that no idiot can be ignorant, or will deny it.

Thus hath been manifested, how some things are immediately vnderstood in the very first consideration and view: some are proued by themselves, some not proued by themselves, but made euident by others. As many things are in the former kindes and seuerall manners manifested, and euidently proued vnto Reason, Sense, or Vnderstanding: so are there many things neither by themselves nor by other euident, neither to the vnderstanding and reason, nor to the outward sense at the first apparent, but remaine ambiguous and doubtfull. In these things certainty of knowledge by manifest prooffe failing, there remaineth no other refuge, but prudent and artificiall coniecture, narrowly looking and searching thorow probabilities, vnto the neereest possibilitie of truth and certainty.

From hence doe arise excellent vses and benefits vnto vnderstanding, though not so farre forth ofttimes gained, as is desired vnto all priuate ends, yet so farre forth, as maketh wise and vnderstanding men, excell and shine before others. Hence it commeth to passe that in doubtfull cases, counsels and attempts, one man is seene and knowne to ouershine another, as much as the glorious Sunne doth his eclipsed sister, the Moone. Hence haue issued so many noble and heroicke

roike Vertues; Sagacitie, exquisitenes of iudgement, Prudence, Art, in the administration of high affaires. For, although in probabilities are no eident certainties, yet doe they so farre forth oft-times aduantage and aduance vnto the knowledge of certaintie, that it is almost equall vnto certaintie, and doth perswade and settle discrete resolution and disposition in all affaires. In this consisteth the height, the top, the summe of Art, and the perfection of all humane knowledge, aboue or beyond which, no man could euer soare or leuill. By this light onely the former mentioned meanes failing, is oft times gained much excellence of natural knowledge to man, beyond and without which the eye and sight of knowledge in man is sealed vp, his vnderstanding darkened, and cannot know many hidden things. And thus to him that rightly doth meditate and consider, it is vndoubtedly cleere and certaine, how the Creator and infinite Prince of all principles hath founded the beginning & end, the power and *posse* of all knowledge, vpon one of the former waies of inuestigation, beside which there is no naturall knowledge to be expected. Philosophie as yet neuer found other waies vnto that infinite number of all Arts and Sciences, so admirably flourishing thorow so many ages of the world. For this cause the most excellent & prime Philosopher, *Aristotle*, reiecteth whatsoeuer cannot be found by Sense, or proued by reason, as spurious. Likewise *Ptolomie* hath bounded the true Art of Astronomie within *fatum Physicum*; within a necessitie in Nature, and to distinguish it from superstition (where with curiositie vsually defileth or intangleth it) doth limit it *intra conuenientem natura modum*, that is, within proportion and measure answerable to Reason and Nature. For this cause also, all true Philosophers haue determined the two onely instruments of all true Arts, to bee Reason and Experience, which *Galen* doth call the two legges wherevpon the Art of Physike doth consist. And therefore in the second chapter of his *Finitiones medica*, he saith, *Optimus is est Medicus, qui omnia in Medicina recta agit ratione*, that is, hee who

Quod non est
secundum, na-
turam non
continetur a
Scientia, Arist.
Anal. poster.

doth all things in his subiect of Physike, according to right rule of reason, is the most excellent Physician.

From hence also all true Artists haue defined Art to bee, *Habitus cum ratione factiuus*, that is, a settled habilitie, and promptnesse of action, and operation according to reason. Vpon this ground others haue built other true rules and observations, concerning true and lawfull Arts. Therefore (saith *Galen*) *ars non est ex iis quorum neutiquam est potestas*, *Hagog. cap. 5.* that is, Art is not of such things as cannot be accomplished. Which is worthy noting, to distinguish prestigious and supposed Arts from true Art. To this others likewise haue added another obseruation, that is, that Art is imployed about such things as are in reason profitable and not vaine. So saith *Scaliger, exercit. 37. Sect. 31.* *Ars non est de rebus inutilibus*. It is yet further obserued vpon the same ground, that true Art doth not confound or cloud it selfe in mists, but reduceth vnto order, light and reason, things dissipate, confused, and out of order and reason (as *Cicero* affirmeth) *Ars res diuulsas dissolutasque conglutinat, & ratione quadam constringit*. Vpon the same grounds diuers renowned common weales haue expelled all false and forged Arts: as, *Necromancy, Aeromancy, Geomancy*, with other fortilligious Diuinations. Vpon the same reasons, diuers Emperors, Kings, Kingdomes and Lawes, haue exploded, censured, and condemned all such as vnder pretext of the wholesome Arts of Astronomy, Mathematickes, and the like, haue runne into foolish curiosities, impostures, and deceitfull practices. *Iustinian* the Roman Law-giuer and Emperour, his lawes are extant to this purpose. Likewise *Tiberius* his Decrees for the expulsion of counterfeit *Mathematicians* and *Magicians*. And *Ulpian* in his booke *de Mathematicis & Maleficis*, testifieth the publication of their goods, and their inhibition by the Emperors from communion with other Citizens so much as in fire or water. And as Reason, good Lawes, Kingdomes, Nations, and Common-weales haue distinguished ingenuious, liberal, true and profitable Arts and Sciences builded vpon reason,

truth

truth and vnderstanding: from base ignoble, vnprofitable, needlesse, curious and erronious Arts: so hath the holy Scripture both iustified, sanctified and commended the one, and condemned, and nominated with rebuke and shame th'other. The first is euident, *Exod. 3. verse 1. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.* where Almighty God doth testifie concerning the knowledge and skill of Workmanship in gold, siluer, and stone, that he gaue it by his Spirit vnto *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, who were workmen according to knowledge and vnderstanding in that lawfull Art, profitable vnto the building of Gods house. The second is manifest, *Acts 19. ver. 19.* where it is in their due commendations recorded, that those who before vsed and practised vaine & curious Arts, when they were by the preaching of the Apostles truly conuerted, in token of their vndissembled repentance, they absolutely renounced and disclaimed their vaine learning, and openly burnt their bookes, though valued at an high rate and rich price.

CHAP. II.

That no Knowledge can come vnto man in any Art or Science, but by Sense or Reason, or likely and artificiall conjecture, is proved by the Science and Knowledge of Physike in stead of all other Arts and Sciences.

NOW for the better impression of that which hath bin before said, that nothing is or can be detected, or is liable vnto mans knowledge, which cometh not vnto him by the help of Reason, the inward or the outward Sense, Demonstration, Ratiocination, or iudicious and prudent Conitutation in reasonable likelihood: let vs examine any one particular, ingenuous, liberall or lawfull Art or Science, in steade of many, and therein view, how by the former mentioned keyes, dores & entrances solely, are opened the waies vnto their contemplations, study, and perfect

fect apprehension. And if one Art or Science may be sufficient herein, I think it most fit to choose my owne, because as to my selfe most prompt, so vnto any other not vnprofitable. All diseases that happen vnto the body of man are either outward or inward, and therefore either scene by the eye, and deprehended by the outward Sense, or conceived only by Reason and the inward Vnderstanding. Inward diseases, and subiect onely vnto reason and vnderstanding doe sometimes appeare clearely and certainly to reason and vnderstanding; sometimes they do not appeare certaine, or by certaine notes or signes, but by likely markes onely, which are the grounds of artificiall coniecture.

And as some diseases are apparent to outward sense, some euident to inward reason, some by artificiall coniecture only in learned, exact search and perquisition pursued vnto their discouery: so also are many diseases hidden from all these wayes of inuestigation, and therefore remaine as remembrances of mans manifold ignorance in this life, and of the secret reseruatiō of Gods decree and prohibition. As then in those diseases which are apparent vnto sight, it is blindness in a Physicion to make question, in these which are euident to reason, to make doubt, is reasonlesse fatuity, in those which may be attained by artificiall coniectation, search or perquisition, either to be slacke, is sloth, or to be vnable, is insufficiency: so in those diseases, which neither outward sense, nor inward reason, nor art, nor artificial coniecture can possibly discouer: to hope or seeke beyond Sense and Reason, and reasonable likelihood, is reasonlesse and senselesse struing, and impatience of those bounds which God hath set to limit the curiosity of man. For better prooffe and illustration, it will not bee impertinent to nominate some particular diseases in all these kinds. First for outward diseases, and such as are euident to outward sense, they are infinite. Who that is the least practised in Physicke, doth not assuredly know, when, with his eyes he doth behold an inflammation, a Shirrus, a Gangrene, Cancer, Callus, Fistula, Vlcer, Leprosie,

Leprosie, Pfora, Struma, Petechia, Variola, Jaundes, Gout, Tabescence, Extenuation, and the like. Secondly, for inward diseases euident to reason; he that is least learned, doth know, that all diseases which may be defined, must necessarily be euident to reason; as also, that it is not difficult to define innumerable diseases to him that is able to *conioine with the part affected, the true immediate kinde of the affection. The stomake ceasing her proper function of concoction, or depriued of appetite, doth it not thereby manifestly proue vnto reason some inward ill affection therein? If with that ill affection be ioined a manifest inward heat about the region of the stomake, accompanied with an Ague, drinesse, thirst and other accidents, and consequences of heate, is not as plainly detected the kinde of the affection to be hot?

Thus both the part affected, which is the stomake apparently (because there the former accidents are found originally moouing and first seated,) and also the ill affection (which by the manifest burning heate doth proue her kind) being both conioined, doe truly define the disease to be an inflammation of the stomake. The like may be sayd of the inflammations of all other inward parts of Plurisies, Phrenisies, inflammation of the Liuer, Splene, Wombe, Reines, Guts and other parts, the certaine testimonies of excessiue heate giuing demonstration of an inflammation, and the paine (or at least, some defect) or defection in the proper offices of the parts manifesting the parts themselves. As concerning inward inflammations of diuers parts, so likewise of inward Vlcers, and other maladies may be instanced. The disease of the bladder is oft certainly knowne, by paine in the part, or by cessation of his proper functions, or defection therein, and the kinde of disease therein by the excretions oft-times proceeding from it. And thus an Vlcer is oft discovered in the bladder, by paine, with purulent and sanguinolent miction. Diseases likewise of the head are certainly discovered and detected vnto reason, by defects growing;

* Genus morbi proximum cum parte affecta coniunctum constituit morbi speciem.

sometimes in the vnderstanding, sometimes in the memory, sometimes in the imagination, sometimes in all those together, and sometimes in the generall motion of the whole body. Diseases of the heart likewise appeare by the euil and faulty motions of the pulse, by soundings and defections in liuelihood of the spirits and vitall faculty. Diseases of the Wombe or Mother likewise, doe oft demonstrate themselves by deprived or depraued motions. It were tedious to make a particular enumeration of all diseases of this kind, which are in the same manner euident and apparent vnto reason.

Now let vs briefly also consider some diseases, which are neither euident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense; but are gained, detected, and hunted out of their deepe and hidden couerts, by the quicke and exquisite sent of probable and artificiall coniecture; the necessity or vse whereof, either in an ambiguous complication of doubtfull diseases, or in the extrication of any intricate single affection or malady, there is no man in Physicke exercised, who doth not dayly finde. Many examples of diseases of this kinde would cause the small body of this little worke voluminously to swell: we will therefore onely propose one.

Let vs suppose a sicke man, doubtfully and diuersly with these accidents afflicted: namely, a continuall feuer, a cough, spitting of bloud, shortnesse of winde, head-ache, deliration, want of sleepe, drinesse, thirst, paines in diuers parts, sides, ribbes, backe and belly: What disease or diseases here are, can neither be manifest to sense, distracted in this confusion, multitude and concurrence of accidents; nor yet be euident to reason at the first view, because it requireth so different consideration, and deuided contemplation of so many seuerals apart. Here then it remaineth, that learned, iudicious, prudent, and discrete artificiall coniecture proceed exactly to distinguish and analise, as followeth. All the forenamed paines, distempers and accidents may indifferently arise, either from the Lungs inflamed, or the Liuer, or the Mid-

Midriffe, or the Pleura; because any one of these by it selfe doth vsually bring forth all, or most part of them. Heere then prudent, artificiall, and exquisite perpenſion doth exactly vallow and esteeme all the different manners, quantities, qualities, positions and situations of pains; likewise accidents, motions, times, manners of motion, characters, orders, and all other both substantiall and circumstantiall considerations.

And first, as touching the feuer, head-ache, thirst, idlenesse of braine (because they are common to many other diseases besides these, & require no curious, but a more curelesse and common respect.) prudent & circumspect coniectation doth leaue their needlesse confusion of more vsfull and needfull perpenſion, and doth more narrowly search about those accidents, which are more inseparable, proper and peculiar vnto the diseases named, and by exact disquisition in their indifferencies, doth notwithstanding sift out their hidden and secretly couched differencies, by which, in exact view they are found and distinguished sufficiently differing. The inseparable accidents which doe peculiarly, or for the most part accompany the diseases before named, that is, the inflammation of the Lungs, the Liuer, the Midriffe and the Pleura, are cough, shortnesse of winde, spitting of blood, paines about the ribbes, sides, belly, which in all these named diseases, more or lesse are present, either primarily, or by consent of one part with another. These, though seldome absent from most of the foure former diseases, and therefore not easily distinguished, when they proceed from th'one or th'other; yet rightly weighed, and accurately considered in their seuerall manners, measures, and right positions in euery one, when a part and single, they doe likewise in their confused mixture one with another, yeeld distinct and seuerall difference to him, that in a iudicious and discerning thought, doth beare their iust distinctions apart. For illustration, spitting of blood is vsually a companion to all, or most of the foure named diseases; but in one in lesse quanti-

ty, in another more; in one after one manner, in another after another; in one by vomiting, in another by expectoration, and in another by coughing; in one with much expuition, in another with little; in one with danger of strangulation and suffocation, in another without; in one with thicknesse, blacknesse, and small quantity of bloud, in another with thinnesse, brightnesse of colour, and more quantity; and in one of these also with lesse, and in another with more difficulty and labour. Shortnesse of winde, or difficulty of breathing, is a common companion to all the named diseases; but in one with frequent expuition, in another without, and where, with expuition, in one with more facility, in another with difficulty, in one with one manner of discension of the instruments of respiration, in another with another, in one kinde of difficulty of respiration more frequent, in another lesse, in one more gricuous, in another tolerable.

The like may be sayd of coughing, and pains. Coughing in one of the forenamed diseases is with much, in another with little, and in another with no expuition at all; in one continuall, in another with intermission; in one with intensi-
 on, in another with remission; in one loud, in another still, and where, with expectoration, in one of one colour and quantity, in another of another; and in another of none at all; in one easie, gentle, free and without paine, in another gricuous and painfull; yea suffocatory, and neere to strangle. Paine likewise is a common companion to al the mentioned diseases; but distinguished in th' one and the other, by the manner, nature, and situation of the seuerall parts, which apart in euery one it possesseth, and also by the different oddes, fashions, and kindes of paine; some being sharp, some dull, some quicke, some slowe, some with distension, some with puncti-
 on, some with heauinesse and sensible weight, some more gricuous to the Patient lying, some to him sitting or standing, some more calme in one position of the body, and some in another.

And

And thus prudent and skilfull coniecture, by due and diligent perpenſion, comparing together oddes, and exactly referring vnto true diſcerning the ſeuerall properties and differences of accidents, their manners, proportions, and other due circumſtances, doth in the end reduce euery accident to his right diſeaſe, and euery diſeaſe to his right cauſe; whereby the prudent and iudicious Phyſicion doth cleerely vnderſtand, directly and timely to apply proper and pertinent remedies. And thus in doubtfull caſes, which are neither euident to Reaſon, nor manifeſt to Senſe in the Art and exerciſe of Phyſike, it is manifeſt how ſolert and accurate coniectation, through the clouds and miſts of ambiguities, doth in the end ſo cleerely ſend forth and giue ſo faire a light, that doubt it ſelfe doth become out of doubt, and is little inferiour vnto certaine and plaine demonſtration: As a ſhort ſumme of all that hath been ſaid, whatſoeuer hath beene declared of diſeaſes, the ſame may bee propounded concerning their iſſues very briefly.

The iſſues of all diſeaſes are either informed from Senſe, or euident by reaſon, or ſcrutable by artificiall coniecture. Examples of the firſt kinde are manifeſt, when with our eyes we behold the motion and Senſe externall and other outward functions of the body, either aboliſhed, or in an high degree depriued of their power and naturall uſe.

This certaine teſtimonie of our ſight doth certainly informe the vnderſtanding, concerning the dangerous iſſue.

Examples of the ſecond kinde are manifeſt likewise, when we finde either the cauſes of diſeaſes vnremoueably fixed, or the diſeaſe it ſelfe rooted in the ſubſtance of any of the principall parts, or accidents in malignitie, vehemence, and fury irreſiſtable. In theſe caſes a doubtful and hard iſſue is euident to Reaſon by iuſt conſequent.

Examples of the latter kinde are alſo apparent, when in diſeaſes, good and euill ſignes are ſo doubtfully mixed, that ſome promiſe Life, others as much threaten Death: ſome in number diſcourage, other ſome in worth as much as incou-

ent, a very worthy Gentleman, who being extremely vexed with the Strangury, Disurie, and Ischurie together with pissing of blood in great abundance, and the stone, who by the vse and accommodation of remedies, found much ease, mitigation of paines, and qualification of the extremitie of all the former accidents. Notwithstanding, for that there were certaine indications of an Vlcer in the body or capacitie of the Bladder, his recouerie was not expected, but after his decease, in the dissection of his body, his Bladder was found rotten, broken and black, without any manifest matter therein as cause thereof, or so much as one stone, although hee had formerly and immediately before auoided many stones at seuerall times. This I produce, being fresh in memory, as an instance of impossibilitie of knowledge vnto a Physicion in many and frequent cases. For how could the fracture or colour of his Bladder, while the Patient was liuing, by any exquisitenesse of Art or vnderstanding, be knowne in any possibilitie, meanes, or power of man, although all the other accidents aboue mentioned, were vndoubtedly, by certaine indications and signes discovered? I might here deliuer many otherlike Examples out of mine owne knowledge; I will onely call to remembrance one more.

I was of late yeares Physicion vnto a right Noble Lady; the cause of whose apparent dangerous estate, diuers learned and famous Physicions conioyned with my selfe, could neuer discover. In the dissection of her body after her decease, her heart was found inclosed with a shining rotten gelly, and the very substance of the heart of the same colour.

In the same Lady, an intolerable paine about the bottome of her stomack, by fits depriued her of all ease by day, and of rest by night, and could neuer be either knowne in the cause, or removed in the accident by any meane or remedy: but after death, in the dissection of her body before mentioned, a black round gelly as bigge as a Tenice ball, did manifest it selfe in that place, where, in her life, the intolerable paine was seated and fixed.

Of

Of this euill discoloration of her heart, of the matter and euill colour of that matter wherewith her heart was inuironed; as also of that collected gelly in her stomake, what possible knowledge (thinke you) or exquisite vnderstanding, or art of man could euer in her life time giue any notice or information? Like vnto this is that which *Hollerius* in the 21. of his rare obseruations doth mention. In a sicke man perplexed in a strange manner from an vnknowne cause in his life, after his death his liuer and epiploon did appeare corrupted and putrified, his stomake toward the botome bruised and full of blacke iuice or humour. *Christophorus Sillineus*, opening the body of a childe after death, reporteth, that he saw in the small veines, running thorow the substance of the liuer, many small scrawling wormes then liuing. *Beniuinius* doth make mention of a woman tormented grieuoufly by a needle in her stomake, which was impossible by any art or exquisitnesse of vnderstanding to be conceiued or suspected, if nature it selfe working it out thorow the body and substance of the stomake, vnto the outward view and sense, had not so discovered it. I will not here mention the generation of worms, stones, and the like in the guts, gall, heart, lungs and other parts, of which no art, or excellence of knowledge can possibly take notice, vntil they haue proued themselues vnto the sight. Many diseases of these kindes being fearefull and terrible accidents, and afflictions vnto the body, yet for the most part are neuer detected; because they haue not onely no proper true certaine likely, but no possible meanes or way of indication or notice at all, in any reason or vnderstanding of humane Art or Science; without which the most exquisite and Scientifical Clarkes are altogether disabled, and must necessarily be ignorant. Thus hath been at large manifested, that nothing can bee vnto the Physician in his Art and Science knowne, which either by outward sense or inward is not apparent, or by likely and artificiall coniecture from both, is not detected or discerned. The like might be vrged concerning the

20
The Tryall of Witnesse,
trials of lawe and iustice, and inquisitions of offences and errors against the law, which are the diseases of a Common-weale, as the former of the body of man. Many offences against the law are apparent vnto the outward sense, as sight or hearing: and therefore being witnessed by hearers or beholders, are without doubt or difficulty immediately dispatched, sentenced, and adiudged. Many also are euident to reason, which therefore are held and reputed inuincibly and infallibly to conuince.

Many offences also there are, neither manifest to sense, nor euident to reason, against which onely likelihood and presumptions doe arise in iudgement; whereby notwithstanding, through narrow search and sifting, strict examination, circumspect and curious view of euery circumstance, together with euery materiall moment and oddes thorowly, and vnto the depth and bottome by subtil disquisition fadomed, the learned, prudent, and discerning Iudge doth oft detect and bring vnto light many hidden, intestine, and secret mischiefes, which vnensibly and vnobservedly would otherwise oppresse and subuert the Common-weale. When by none of these wayes of extrication the truth can possibly be gained, the wise and vpriight Iudge vnto necessity in want of due warrant vnto iust proceeding, doth with patience and sobriety submit. For this cause (as may bee seene vpon records) many cases iustly necessarily and vnauidably stand perpetually inscrutable vndeided and neuer determined, as certaine proofes and euidences of the limitation and annihilation of mans knowledge in many things of this life: Almighty God oft-times decreeing to hide some truth from the sight of man, and detaining it in his owne secret will and pleasure.

Chap.

CHAP. III.

Whether Witch-craft haue any other wayes or meanes of inuestigation, then these before mentioned, and what is the true inuestigation.

IT hath been at large before declared, how God and Nature haue limited and confined all knowledge of man, within certaine waies and bounds, out of which, and beyond which it cannot passe; as also for that cause, that no iustificable Art or true Science whatsoeuer, doth or can exceede those restraints. There haue been also diuers examples produced of the necessity of mans ignorance, in the impossibility of much knowledge, and discouery of things hidden and inhibited by the iust and vnsearchable decrees of God and Nature. It remaineth now to enquire concerning one particular subiect of Witch-craft, whether in the comon way of all other detections of truths, it ought likewise consist; or whether by it selfe it haue other priuiledges beyond all other trials. If reason be the sole eye and light of naturall vnderstanding which God hath giuen vnto reasonable man (as is before proued.) If without it can be no naturall knowledge, no Art, no Science no discouery. If lawe among all people and nations be so iust in all things, as to do or allow nothing against true reason (in which consisteth right.) If God himselfe, and all flourishing Common-weales haue tyed men and lawes, and the decision by them of all doubts, questions and controuersies, either vnto right prooffe, euidence and allegation, according vnto reason, or at least, faire likelihood, presumption, and probabilitie, and beyond these there neuer was, is, or can be any iust iudgement or triall: How is it possible that man can attaine any knowledge of Witch-craft, if not by those meanes, by which only his nature is capable of whatsoeuer is allotted to be known there-

to ? If this be infallibly true, man must either by the former common wayes of knowledge and detection, know likewise and detect Witch-craft, or els bee altogether ignorant thereof; whereof the contrary by daily experience is manifest. It may bee and is objected, that it is a hard and difficult matter to detect Witch-craft, by the former and ordinary courses, as is oft seene and found apparent. So is it likewise equally difficult, and as hard by the same meanes oft-times, for many a iust man to proue and cleere his opposed innocency, and for many an iniuriouly wronged wretch to proue his right, to defend his goods, yea, life it selfe from violence; notwithstanding, this is no allowance vnto another way, no reason or iustification of any vnwarranted way, or way out of the way of Reason, Iustice, and Lawe, be his burden neuer so importable, or his iniury exceeding cruel-
 tie.

For, if God had allowed vnto men alwaies smooth, assured, certaine and infallible wayes vnto the satisfaction of their wants, and the accomplishment of their intentions & desires without failing; what would become of Religion, Vertue, and Wisedome? Then should euery man be alike wise, and men would be so confident in their own strength and power, and so proud, that they would forget God, and neuer thinke of the Almighty. If the meanes and waies vnto all knowledge, and the information of our desires and affections, did meet with no impediment, no opposition, no contradiction, no casualty to intercept, and all things should prosperously succeed vnto our means and endeuiors, there would neuer be any vse of Patience, Temperance, or dependance vpon the diuine prouidence; and consequently, little acknowledgement, and lesse worship and adoration of our Creator, who according to his wisdome, good will and pleasure, doth otherwise gouerne, guide, order and dispose all things. For if vnto our supposed needfull ends, vses and necessary desires were certaine and vncontrouled waies, nothing impossible, nothing denied; then were our lust a
 lawe,

lawe, and man in no power but in his owne, in no awe, in no lawe, in no rule.

Therefore Almighty God in his great and vnspeakeable Wisedome hath subiected vaine man, and made his pride subiect to infinite creatures, limits, restraints, coertions, thereby to teach him true wisdom, piety, trust, dependance, worship, and adoration of his all-restraining & all-limiting vnlimited power. Man therefore must thereby learne to be contented so to know, as therewith to learne to know himselfe; that is, with his large portion, his lot, his manifold indowments, his excellencie of Sense, Reason, Vnderstanding, Prudence, Art, not to forget or spurne at their interdictions, prohibitions, and inioyned lists, beyond which to desire to know, is curiositie, is folly: *Sapientia vera,*

Nolle nimis sapere, saith the Poet. It is true Wisedome, not to be too wise: that is, not to know, nor desire to know more then is allowed or needfull: needful, not in our desires, but Gods Decree.

Here then let me intreat reasonable men, not too much (as is vsuall) to swell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reueale and plainly (as they desire and thinke needfull) the subtil engines, and mysticall craft of the Diuell in the Machinations of Witches and Sorcerers, but soberly, modestly, and discreetly, so faire forth be contented to pursue the tryall and iust way of their Discouery, as with sense, with reason, with Religion is iust and righteous, knowing that whatsoever is beyond these lists; is reasonlesse, senselesse, and impious.

For since God and Nature (as is before said) hath limited the scrutinie of all true Arts and Sciences, all naturall knowledge for discouerie of controuersies and resolutions vnto the lights of Reason & Sense, and artificiall coniecture, prudence, art, sagacitie, and subtiltie of vnderstanding de-riued from thence, vnto what other barre or seate of Iustice can Witch-craft appeale or be brought?

It may be objected, the Art of Witch-craft, being super-

naturall,

naturall, and the practice thereof sustained by an extraordinary power; that therefore the meanes and waies of discovery must be likewise more then ordinary and supernaturall.

Hereto is truly answered, that since the nature & power of Spirits is vnknowne vnto man (as things supernaturall) and can be, and is no otherwise knowne, but by examining the workes issuing from thence, and comparing them aright with that which is naturall (because man in his Reason and vnderstanding cannot discern that which is truly transcending his Nature, otherwise, then obseruing how far it exceedeth that which is according to Nature :) therefore (I say) the workes of the Diuell, or Witches, though sustained and produced by a supernaturall power, yet can haue no other way for their detection by man, but that which is ordinary vnto man, and natural and possible vnto man; for that which is aboue or beyond his power or Nature, is not his owne.

From hence must necessarily be concluded, that there is no other ordinary way vnto man (who knoweth or can know nothing but that is naturall) vnto the discovery of that is supernaturall, but that way which is likewise naturall.

Although therefore the subject of Witch-craft require a greater measure of knowledge to discern that which is therein really, and truly supernaturall, from that which in nature oft-times hath a very great likenesse, and a decciueable similitude therewith: yet is the way vnto that knowledge, the common high way which conducteth vnto all other knowledge whatsoever. Let men then be perswaded and contented (since God hath allotted, and allowed vnto the nature and power of man no other way) in this only warranted true way to seeke the discovery, to finde the footing, path, and steppings of Witchcraft, as of all other things, which by the Decree of God are reuealed vnto man, and subiect vnto the knowledge of man.

It may be here demanded, whether Almighty God, doth
not

not extraordinarily, and miraculously at some time discover this so abominable sin of Witch-craft, aswell as by ordinarie meanes leaue it vnto discouerie? This doubt shall more fitly in more due place be hereafter at large discoursed.

It hath now beene here manifested, that there is or can be no other ordinarie tryall of Witch-craft, then that which is common vnto all other detections of truth : and also that all detections subiect vnto the discouerie of man (as hath beene before cleared) are drawne and deriued either from Sense or Reason, or likely probabilitie raised from both.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the workes of Witches and Diuels.

BEfore wee proceed further to treat concerning matter of Witch-craft, according to the former waies of discouerie and inuestigation : it will be needfull to distinguish who is the true Author, cause, & immediate workman of the supernaturall workes, which by Sorcery and Witch-craft are compassed or brought to passe.

All created substances indowed with powers and vertue from God their Creator, are either bodily, or corporall substances, or Spirituall, or mixt and betweene both.

Bodily and corporall substances are the heauens, the celestiall bodies of the Starres, of the Sunne, of the Moone, the bodies of the elements, and all elementarie substances from them deriued and composed.

Spirituall substances are either Angels, or Diuels, or soules of men after death, separated from their bodies.

Mixed substances, partly Spirituall, partly bodily, are mankinde compounded of a naturall body, and an vnderstanding soule.

Hence it commeth to passe, that man by his vnderstanding Spirit, doth together with Angels, Spirits, and Diuels, participate and vnderstand many things; as the Scripture re-
uealed

uealed; the History and Creation of the whole world; many truths of God; the grounds of Reason; the principles of Nature; many generall rules and obseruations, and infinite particular objects of many things past, present, and to come. But for that this vnderstanding Soule is depressed, and imprisoned in this life by the body, by the passions, diseases, and manifold incumbrances thereof, and cannot extend or enlarge it selfe further vnto any portion of knowledge, then thorow the narrow windowes, closures, parts and organs of the body: therefore must necessarily the knowledge of man be much inferiour vnto that measure of knowledge, which Spirits, being of a more subtile essence, and free from the burden and incumbrance of an earthly tabernacle or prison, doe in a more large extent inioy.

As is said of the difference of knowledge in Spirits, beyond the power and nature of man: so may be said from the same reason of the difference of the workes of Spirits, farre enlarging and extending their vertue and power, beyond the power and force of men.

The workes of men, are confined within the power and nature of these sublunarie bodies, vnto which they are annexed, and tyed.

The works of Spirits are limited to no corporall substance or body, but spaciouly compasse the whole and vniuersall body of the sublunary or inferiour world (as the Diuell dorth witnesse of himselfe, *Iob 1. verse 7.*) and are not tyed vnto any particular place, but rule generally therein, and in all places by the permission of God, as is euident, *Ephe. 2. ver. 2.* where the Diuell is called the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, even the Spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: and likewise, *Ephes. 6. verse 12.* where he is called the Prince of darknesse of this world.

From these vndoubted grounds, it is necessarily inferred, that both all knowledge exceeding the knowledge of man, must needs issue from the knowledge of Spirits, and also that all works exceeding and transcendent, aboue the power
and

and nature of corporall substances, must necessarily be the force of Spirits. It may now be demaunded, how the works of good Spirits shall be knowne and distinguished from the works of euill Spirits and diuels, since both their workes proceede from the same nature, substance, and spirituall essence common vnto them both. This shall appeare by the consideration of the orders and sorts of good Spirits, expressed in holy Scripture, and their properties, beside which, all other are necessarily euill, and therefore diuels; like vnto whom likewise, by iust consequent must be their workes, the one reciprocally * discovering the other. All good Spirits are either Angels and Messengers of God, specially sent with his holy embassage, to special holy men, for special holy ends; as was the Seraphin sent vnto *Isaia, the 6. Chapter verse 6.* and as were the Angels vnto the Shepherds, when our Sauour was borne, or as where the Angels which were sent vnto the Patriarkes of olde, or els tuteler Angels, ordinarily commanded to guide, protect, and defend the Elect and chosen children of God, as is manifest both by the testimony of our Sauour, *Matth. 18. vers. 10.* See that you despise not (sayth our blessed Sauour) one of these little ones: For I say vnto you, that in heauen there Angels alway behold the face of my Father, which is in heauen. And by that Text also, *Heb. 1. vers. 14.* Are they not all ministring Spirits (sayth the Apostle, speaking of Angels) sent forth to minister for their sakes, who shall be heires of saluation? Beside these orders of good and holy Spirits, neither hath the holy Scripture, neither hath the light of reason, or nature, or obseruation knowne or discovered any other.

All the workes likewise and employments of these good Spirits, are all and euer obserued to be like themselues, holy, good, freely seruing and ministring vnto the expresse will, knowne and vndoubted pleasure of Almighty God, as is certainly confirmed, *Psal. 103. verse 20.* Praise ye the Lord (sayth the Psalmist) ye his Angels that excell in power, that doe his commandements in obeying the voyce of his word.

* Angeli boni non possunt peccare, confirmati per gratiam. Angeli mali, per malitiam obstinati non possunt bene uelle. Magist. Sent. dist. 7. lib. 2.

Boni Ange-
difficile cō-
arent, nec ni-
sumari Dei
illa capeffunt
ernel. de
ibid. Rer.
Caus. lib. 1. ca.
1.

All workes therefore or effects issuing from Spirits, that can-
not bee proued and manifested to be first commanded by
* God; secondly, tending solely to the execution of his will;
and thirdly, are not contained in one of the foure first-men-
tioned offices and administrations of Spirits, they are all cer-
tainly and assuredly to be suspected as works of diuels and
euill spirits, whom God doth permit (as sayth S. *Augustine*
in his 3. Booke, *de Trinitate*) to bring to passe such workes
of theirs, partly to deceiue those wicked, which God in
iudgement hath giuen ouer to be deceiued of diuels; partly,
to quicken and stirre vp the godly and holy man, and to
trie and prooue him thereby, as hee did his faithfull ser-
uant *Iob*.

Now for a more distinct cleerenesse and light vnto the
prooofe of these suspected workes of diuels, it is very profita-
ble, necessary and pertinent, that wee consider their kinds
which are two. The first kind is of such supernaturall workes,
as are done by the diuell solely and simply to his owne ends
or vse, without any reference or respect to any contract or
couenant with man. The second kinde is of such transcen-
dent workes, as are done with a respect or reference vnto
some contract or couenant with man. In the first, the di-
uell is solely an Agent for himselfe, without the consent or
knowledge of man. In the second, the supernaturall and
transcendent workes are truely, essentially, and immedi-
ately from the diuels; also (because out of the reach or power
of any command of man simply) yet therein man hath a pro-
perty and interest by couenant and contract, and deriuation
thereof from the diuell, which is truely and solely Sorcerie,
and Witch-craft: for since supernaturall workes are onely
proper to a Spirit, and aboue the nature and power of man,
they cannot truely and properly bee esteemed his; and
therefore it is not the supernaturall worke it selfe, but mans
contract and combination therein with the diuell, his con-
sent and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a
Witch;

Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a contracter with the diuell. Now let vs proceed to consider how these supernaturall workes in the former seuerall kindes are or may be detected, some by Reason, some by Sense.

CHAP. V.

The workes of the Diuell by himselfe, solely wrought without the association of man.

IT is not destitute of easie prooffe, that there are many supernaturall workes of the diuell manifest to sense, wherein man doth not participate in knowledge, contract or consent with him. Did not the Diuell in the body of a Serpent miraculously * reason, dispute, speake and conferre with *Eua, Gen. 3*? Was not his speech and voice vndoubtedly, manifestly, perceptibly, and truly heard, and sounding in her eares? There then was no man as, yet borne that could combine with the diuell in this supernaturall worke, or that could then be found a Witch. Likewise, was not the diuels carriage of the body of our Sauour, and setting it vpon a pinnacle of the Temple manifest to the eye? Was not the fire which the diuell * brought downe from heauen in so miraculous manner, and in so extraordinary power to deuoure so many thousands of *Iobs* sheepe, truly visible? The Messenger escaping to bring the tydings doth witnesse it. Was not the power of the diuell seene at such time, as in the Gospel hee carryed whole herds of swine headlong into the Sea? Was not the Diuell seene to rend and teare the bodies of men by him possessed, in an extraordinarie and supernaturall manner and sort, *Marke* the first, *Luke 4. Math. 17. Marke* the ninth? Was not the very voyce of a Spirit heard and distinguished, when the diuell in so fearefull and marueilous manner cryed out in the possessed, *Math. 8. Mark. 5. Luke 8*? Did not the people behold the miraculous

* Instrumentum Diaboli Serpens. Tremelius Iunius. The Serpent did verily speake. It was a true Serpent not a shadow. The Diuell spake in the Serpent as the Angel in the Asse.

Dr Willet.

* *Iob. 1. ver. 16.*

force of the diuell casting the possessed into the middest of them, *Luke 4. verse 33, 34, 35*? Did not the people heare and behold a foule Spirit crying aloud, and in an admirable power and manner, comming out of the possessed, *Marke 1. 24, 25, 26, 27*? All these were workes supernaturall of the diuel, and manifest to outward sense; yet no mention, no suspicion, no reason of mention, or suspicion of a Witch or Sorcerer: wherein therefore the diuel alone was sole Agent. But it may be objected, that these examples out of the holy Scriptures are recorded as things specially seene, or noted in some speciall ages and times, which after times and other ages do not, or cannot afford.

The contrary is manifest by the faithfull histories and true reports of Ethnicke writers, who living in distant ages, doe not differ in the true consent & harmony of the same report, concerning the same things, as they haue succeeded in their seuerall ages. It is not incredible, but certain vnto any common Reader, what diuers authors of approued faith and credit, in seuerall ages haue written: how the diuell not onely out of the bodies and seuerall parts, * a part of the bodies of men haue vttered words, and spoken with the voice of men, euen as in the Gospel, hee did out of the possessed; but also out of trees, caues of earth, images and statues. The first is euident by the generall report from one succeeding age vnto another, concerning the *Pythons* *Pythoniæ* *ἱερασπίου* *ἑσπερίου* *Ventriloqui*, and the like. The second was neuer hid many hundredth of yeares, for many ages long before the birth of our blessed Sauour, as is apparent by the famous Oracle of *Delphos*, the Oake of *Dodona*, the statue of *Memnon*. *Petrus Gregorius*, *Tholosanus*, in his *Syntagma iuris*, reciteth this history concerning certaine statues at *Alexandria*, that they did fall vnto the ground sodainly, and with an audible voice declared the death of *Mauricius* the Emperour, euen at the same moment and point of time when he was then slaine at Rome.

As the Diuell doth shew himselfe by voices and sounds in trees,

Oracula e-
lita sunt per
audenda pu-
llz. Mornz.
is de verit.
Rel. cap. 23.
Ex Diodoro.

trees, caues, statues, and the like : so doth he in diuers other outward shapes and formes of other creatures.

Thus he appeared vnto *Eua*, and spake vnto her in the shape of a Serpent aforesaid. Of his appearance in diuers other formes likewise are many testimonies.

It is reported by *Iohn de Serres* the French Chronicler, that the late renowned King of France, *Henry* the 4. being in his hunting sports, a Diuell or Spirit presented vnto the Kings eares & his whole company, a great cry of hounds, and winding of hornes. The King commanded Count *Soissons* to goe see who it was, wondering who durst interrupt his game. The Earle still issuing forward toward the noise, still heard it, but seemed nothing ncerer vnto it, though desiring to come neere it vnto it. At length a bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, and speaking vnto the Earle some few words, sodainly vanished.

There could be no deceit in so many eares and witnesses, nor can the obiection of a meere imagination stand vncontrouled of the iust reproofe of want of wit and good maners, in doubt or deniall of so faire and so well aduised due testimonies.

Master *Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Diuell with a young man; who vpon contracts agreed betweene the Diuell and himselfe, deliuered vnto the Diuel his bond for conditioned performances.

Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the passage of many affaires, within the time of *Henry* the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Diuell in the habite of a *Minorite Fryer* at *Danbury Church* in *Essex*, with such thundring, lightning, tempests, & fire-bals, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

I will not further recite infinite Histories and Reports, which may seeme to depend vpon the obscure or doubted credit of superstitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of such onely as by the common consent of times, and generall

voice of all Writers, exact credit and esteeme.

In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and streame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almost that readeth any ancient classikal Author, can auoide the common mention of fained gods, * and goddesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of riuers, of springs, and the like, offering themselves vnto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountring people, sometimes menacing?

Herevpon grew the multitude and varietie of names giuen vnto them, according to the seuerall maners, shapes, gestures, and places which they vsed; as * *Fauni, Satyri, Nympha, Empusa, Lemures*. All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby beleue one onely true God, must needs assure themselves that all these were, euill Spirits, and Diuels. That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one vniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly scene, knowne, and familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot bee denied, by the seuerall descriptions of their maners, shapes and gestures.

And thus briefly auoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of vncertaine particular examples giuen by priuate men, I haue by vndoubted and vncontrouled references vnto ages and successions of continued histories from one vnto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Diuell hath apparently offered himselfe vnto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before proued by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Diuell hath affected to * counterfeit the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God vnto his holy seruants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal vnto God in ignorant and vnbeleeuing hearts.

CHAP.

Vide Platonem
in Epinomide
de viribus &
potestatibus
Aerom, quos
Latini Lemu-
res dixerunt.
De Genio
tem diis &
Dæmonibus
promiscue in
celo, terra, &
singulis mundi
regionibus di-
tributis vide
in Politico.
Vide Plato-
nem 4. de legi-
bus. Quos ibi
Plato promif-
cue Dæmones
appellat, Latini
his nominibus,
& quibus
dam officiis
distinguerint.

Diabolus Dei
amulus quo se
fallaci simili-
tudine insinuet
in animos sim-
plicium.
Caluin. lib. 1.
Instit. cap. 8.
Sect. 2.

CHAP. VI.

Workes done by the Diuell, with respect vnto Covenant with Man.

IT now followeth to giue examples of such supernaturall workes as are offered by the Diuell, wherein man hath an interest and proprietie by contract with the Diuel; as also to shew that these workes are manifest in like manner vnto the outward sense. Vnto this propose out of holy Scripture, behold the Witch of *Endor*; did not *Saul* contract with her, and she promise vnto *Saul* to bring vp *Samuel* vnto him? Did not *Saul* see the vision raised by her, or at least speake there-to, and receiue answere there-from, *1. Sam. 28. 8*? were not then his eyes and eares (those two outward senses) certaine witnesses of her Sorcerie? Behold also the Sorcerers of *Egypt*. Did not *Pharaoh* see & view with his eyes those great and mighty Sorceries, water turned into blood, rods into Serpents, Frogges caused to issue out vpon the face of the earth?

And as the holy Scripture doth afford vs these examples: so are the histories of all ages, people, and countries, fraught with the like as manifest to sense as these, and as apparently detecting and pointing out the Sorcerer and Sorcery.

Liuy reporteth, in those ancient dayes of *Rome*, that the *Romane Claudia*, a vestall Virgin, did shew her selfe in act, able alone with ease and facilitie to draw a mightie ship by a smal line or girdle, which was in the weight and greatnesse vn-moueable, against the force and power of many strong men, assisted by the strength of cattell accustomed to draw mightie and heauy burdens? That this was an act supernaturall, and aboue, and beyond any naturall vertue or force in her Nature, is madnesse to doubt. That in this supernaturall act also, she had a proprietie by her allowance and liking thereof; expressed.

expressed by her voluntarie action of vndertaking & drawing; who can make doubt? The act was supernaturall and about her power and nature: her good will, allowance, and voluntary putting the act in practice, did proue her consent and contract, with that power and nature superiour vnto her owne, which is vndoubtedly Sorcery and Witch-craft.

Tuccia also a vestall Virgin is reported by mumbling of a certaine prayer, to keepe water within a siue, or a riddle, as witnesseth not onely *Pliny*, but euen *Tertullian*.

De diuin. ge-
neribus.
pag. 118.

* *Camerarius* maketh mention of a man, who armed onely with certaine charmes, would vndertake to receiue vpon his body, without harme, bullets or shot out of the fiery cannon.

He maketh also mention of another, who would vndertake to lay his hand vpon the mouth of the like instrument, euen when the fire was already giuen, and thereby cause the flame appearing in the mouth therof, together with the shot there, to stay.

It is credibly written of *Pythagoras*, that hee was at once by seuerall parties seen, in the very same point of time, both in the Citie of *Thuriūm*, and the towne of *Metapontum*.

Apollonius likewise was translated, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, or in the space of a word speaking from *Smyrna*, vnto *Ephesus*, as some histories report. That the power by which these things were done, was more then humane, no Reason can doubt. That also the voluntary accession of these mens disposing, or apting theselues vnto these works, doth proue their consent, and by consent, societie with a Spirit, who can doubt?

But here by the way, is iust occasion offered vnto a question; namely, whether a Spirit or Diuell can cause or bring to passe, that the same true body at once may be really in two distant places, as it seemeth by this history of *Pythagoras*.

The answer hereto must needs in reason be negatiue; because it is impossible in nature, and in the ordinary vchangeable course of all things by God created, that one indiuidual & continued substance, or entire thing should be wholly de-

deuided from it selfe, and yet be it selfe, or possibly be twice, or be in two places, and yet bee but one and the selfe same thing.

Wee must therefore rather here thinke that the diuell is a Iuggler, presenting the liuely shape & pourtraiture of *Pythagoras* in one place, and thereto haply by his supernaturall power, adding a counterfait liuelihood of speech and gesture, while the true substance is certainly and truly seene in another place. That these like practises are vsuall with the diuell, is apparent in many other kinds beside. Did hee not vndertake, *Math. 4. verse 8.* vnto wisdom it selfe our blessed Sauour, to shew vnto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, a thing so farre out of his reach and compasse, but only by a lying and iuggling vision? If this he doth vnto the Sonne of God, how shall the silly sonnes of sinfull men escape? It is written by some Authors, that the diuel hath perswaded some foolish Sorcerers and Witches, that hee hath changed their bodies and substances, into Catts, Asses, Birds, and other creatures, which really and indeed without illusion (if it be not presumption to reason with the Diuell) is impossible vnto him to doe. For there can bee no reall or true transmutation of one substance or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. The one is the sole immediate hand of God, communicable to no creature (because there cannot be two Creators) the other is naturall, the finger-work and power of God in nature, and proper to the nature of liuing animate creatures, not to Angels or Spirits.

Againe, creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone, because there can be but one Infinite, whose nature containing all things, and contained of nothing, can admit no equall, no second, no other. The Diuell then cannot create. That likewise he cannot cause these transmutations by generation, is as plaine and eident, because a true and reall generation hath many precedent alterations, and by little and little in space of time groweth vn-

* Generatio non est nisi in tempore idq; apparata materia per antecessionem mutationis, quam Græci ἀλλοιωσι recentiores Ciceroniæ maluerunt commutationem. Scal. de subr. exercit. 6. sect.

to the perfection of that kinde, vnto which it doth tend or is begotten; but these seeming transmutations by the Diuell of the substances of Men into Cattes, and the like, are swift and sodaine, in a moment, and without preparation: and therefore are no true, but seeming and inggling transmutations.

Here may be againe objected, that the Diuell is able to worke aboue the power of Nature; and therefore beside and aboue the naturall course of generation, hee is able to make these reall transmutations. It is answered, though the diuel indeed, as a Spirit, may do, and doth many things aboue and beyond the course of some particular natures: yet doth hee not, nor is able to rule or commaund ouer generall Nature, or infringe or alter her inviolable decrees in the perpetuall and neuer-interrupted order of all generations; neither is he generally Master of vniuersall Nature, but Nature Master and Commander of him. For Nature is nothing els but the ordinary power of God in al things created, among which the Diuell being a creature, is contained; and therefore subiect to that vniuersall power.

Natura est
ordinaria Dei
potestas.
Scalig.

For this cause, although aboue the power of our particular nature, the Diuell as a Spirit doth many things, which in respect of our nature are supernaturall, yet in respect of the power of Nature in vniuersall, they are but naturall vnto himselte and other Spirits, who also are a kinde of creature contained within the generall nature of things created. Opposite therefore, contrary, against or aboue the generall power of Nature, hee can do nothing. Therefore, to conclude this point, hee cannot be able to commaund or compasse any generation aboue the power of Nature, whose power is more vniuersall and greater then his. We wil then hence conclude, that aboue and beyond the vniuersall Nature and course of all generation, hee cannot make a true transmutation of the substance of any one creature into another.

It was before proued, that it is impossible for him to do it
by

by creation. It is here manifest, that he cannot do it by any course of true generation. There can be no reall transmutation of one substance into another, without either a creation or generation. Wee will therefore conclude with the saying of Saint *Augustine de Ciuitate Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 18. *Nec sane Demones naturas creant, sed specie tenus, qua à Deo creata sunt, commutant, ut videantur esse qua non sunt*: that is, diuels cannot create any nature or substance, but in iuggling shew or seeming onely, whereby with false shadowes and outward induced shapes couering those things which are created of God, by these commutations they cause them to seeme that which they are not indeed.

Concerning other manifest iugglings and illusions of the Diuell, diuers authors haue giuen diuers examples, but that which aboue al the rest doth most palpably detect him herein, is a history related by *Ioannes Baptista Porta* in his second booke de *Magia naturali*. He there witnesseth, that vpon the Diuels suggestion, a Witch beleeued firmly, and perswaded her selfe, that all the night shee had rid in the ayre, ouer diuers great Mountaines, and met inconuenticles of other Sorceresses; when the same night the mentioned Authour himselfe, with others, had watched and scene her all that imagined time of her transuectio in the ayre, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her flesh blue with strokes, and could not awake her, nor perswade her afterward, when shee was awaked that they had so vsed her, or at all had either scene or beheld her. Thus preualent was the iuggling power of the Diuell.

S. Austine de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 18. doth deliuer an History concerning the father of our *Præstantius*, who lying in a deep traunce so profoundly that no meanes could awake him, did dreame (as when hee awaked he did report) that hee was transformed into an Asse, and carryed bagges or burdens of corne into a campe of Souldiers. At the same time, in the same manner, such a like Asse as hee in dreame imagined himselfe did bring such burdens into the same campe.

From these examples may bee iustly drawne a plaine demonstration of the Diuels palpable iuggling and illusion, which also may serue for confirmation; together with the reasons before annexed vnto my former answer, concerning the Diuels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of *Pythagoras* in two distant places at once, in the same point of time. And from all these conioined and conferred, may be truly inferred and collected, that the Diuell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination.

These his iugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so liuely a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence and real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, vpon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so liuely likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discouered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleued.

From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soeuer shall vndertake these supernaturall iugglings, which are only possible in the power of Spirits, and of the Diuell alone, is therby as truly conuincd to be a Witch or Sorcerer, as hee that vndertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall works, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the diuell, and wherein man can haue no property or power, but by and through him. Let vs now then againe returne vnto the Diuels reall supernaturall performances and workes, vnto Sorcerers, from whence by the way of answer vnto the former doubt, concerning *Pythagoras* his supposed realty of being at once in two places, wee haue hitherto onely digressed.

It is written as a thing vsuall vnto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, vnto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing vndoubted by the Witch of *Endor*, raising *Samuel* the Prophet vnto *Saul* the King before mentioned.

In this kinde those famous and renowned Witches, *Medea* and *Circe* in old and ancient times are reported to excell. Hence among the Heathen had *Necromancie* the reason of the name and *νεκρομαντειον* which is diuination by calling vp, or raising the dead.

Later times haue not been behinde former times in the record of the like: but to adde reason to inforce the truth of report herein; I will answer an obiection which may be made. Whether in these apparitions there be only illusion and imagination; or some thing truely and really visibler vnto the outward sense.

As touching the reall raising of the dead, it is impossible vnto the limited power of the Diuell, either in the substance of body or soule, to reduce or bring the dead back into this world, or life, or sense againe; because in death, by the vntouchable, and vnalterable decree of God in his holy Writ, the body returneth into dust from whence it came, and the Soule to God who gaue it.

Notwithstanding, since the outward shape and figure, and proportion of any substance, and not the substance it selfe, or creature, is the true and naturall obiection of the eye, according to the *Philosopher*, who truely saith, *Res non videntur, sed rerum species*; that is, the substances or things themselves are not offered, nor come vnto the sight, but onely their shape, and outward figure, as also for that common sense and experience doe teach vs, that it is a thing absurd, and impossible, that all those bodies & substances, which in infinite number wee dayly see, and behold really and materially in their corporall substances, and dimensions, should be contained in the small body of the eye: for these causes (I say) it is possible according to reason, that the Diuell in these sup-

posed apparitions of the bodies and substances of dead men, may present true, reall, and naturall objects, certaine and assured vnto the eye and sight, if he can onely present thereto the outward liuely pourtraitures, and shapes of the substances or bodies, though the bodies themselues be away. That the Diuel can doe this, is no doubt. For if man by Art can v-
sually diuide the outward shapes, and figures of creatures and substances, from the substances & creatures themselues (as is apparent by the looking glasse) and the cunning Painter can in another borrowed substance, separated from their true, right and proper substance, represent perfectly the true and liuely shape of men, and other creatures, euen when they are not onely absent, and remoued in farre distant places, but when oft-times they haue many yeares beene swallowed of the graue; why should it be thought impossible vnto the Diuell (who certainly is more then exquisite *Apelles* excellent) to offer and present vnto the eye likewise any true shape whatsoeuer?

If he can offer the true shape (as is not to be doubted) he doth offer a true and perfect object; and therefore that which is truly and certainly manifest to sense, although speech and the motion thereof, without another visible bodie to sustaine it (being impossible vnto shapes and pourtraitures drawne by men) be things supernaturall, and truly spirituall, which doe therefore make it a worke proper vnto the Diuell.

And thus it is apparent, that the supposed apparitions which the Diuell doth offer of dead men, may bee esteemed and reckoned among such supernaturall workes of Diuels and Sorcerers, as manifestly are brought to outward sense.

Now let vs returne to view some other kindes of the same workes of the same Authors.

It is reported by some Writers of worthy credit, that the bodies of Sorcerers and Witches haue beene really carried, and locally remoued from one place into another by the Diuell.

And

And of later times (as *Bartholomew de Spina* doth witnesse) the inquisitions haue condemned vnto perpetual priton, and there detained Witches, who by their owne confession, and others prooffe, haue by the Diuell been transported into so farre distant places, in few houres, that afterward it hath bin a trauell of many dayes, by their owne naturall power to returne againe from whence they were manifestly by the diuell carried.

It is a thing likewise written and vulgarly receiued, that Witches are oft-times seene bodily to haunt places, fields, houses, graues, and sepulchers, in an vniuersall and miraculous manner and wondrous fashion. These things, and infinite more, whether true or no, cannot be knowne, but to him that doth himselfe behold, and can from his owne sight a-uouch them really true, and not imaginarie. To performe some manner of asportation, and locall translation of the bodies of Witches and Sorcerers, it seemeth in reason a thing whereunto the Diuell is not vnable.

First, for that it appeareth within the power of a Spirit, by the history of the Prophet *Habacuc*, whom the Angel carried by the hayre of the head, out of *Iudea* into *Babylon*. The naturall faculties and properties of a Spirit, giuen in their creation, and by their essentiall formes vnited vnto them, the Diuell doth participate with all other Spirits whatsoever, though in his fall from heaven, he lost their true happinesse and perfect fruition in the face and fauour of G O D his Creator.

Secondly, for that there are vndoubted examples in holy Scripture of the diuels power in the locall translation, not onely of bodies inanimate: as fire, windes, tempests, houses (as is apparent on the history of *Iob*) and of animate bodies also, or bodies of brute creatures (as is euident in the herds of swine which he carried headlong into the Sea) but likewise of the bodies of men, as is cleere in the Gospel, where it is said, that the Diuell did cast the bodies of the possessed into the midst of the people. If the Diuel could cast,

or

or carrie their bodies the distance there expressed (whatsoever or how little so euer it was) it doth manifestly proue his power, in the locall motion of mens bodies, although the full extent of his power therein bee not necessarily thence collected.

Concerning the taking the body of our Sauour, and setting it vpon a pinnacle of the Temple, I will not vrge, but doe conclude vpon my former reasons sufficiently and necessarily, that the Diuell, where God himselfe doth not countermaund, or prohibite him, hath power to dispose and transport our naturall bodies. I will not cite a multitude of Authors herein, and from them borrow needlesse examples. As some may bee true, so I doe not beleeuē all; and very few I wish trusted, where the prooffe doth not manifestly exceede all exception.

I conclude, that it is possible, that sometimes the supernaturall power of the Diuell in this kinde, as in other before mentioned, may appeare vnto outward sense manifest; and the Witch or Sorcerer be found a voluntarie with him. And as is said of this kinde, so may be said of many more besides those before mentioned.

Charmers.

Concerning the manifest supernaturall workes done by Charmers, who is ignorant? To omit the histories of *Medea* & *Circe* those old famous Hags, who were seene by charmes immediately to cause graine to wither vpon the ground; the current of waters to stand still; the streame to runne backe against the course, tempests, raine, thunder, windes to rise and fall at their word and command, for an assured testimonie of the true and reall harmes, which Charmers manifestly vnto outward view and sense did vnto the ancient world; is as yet extant so many hundreths of yeares, the Law of the twelue *Romane* Tables, wherein was a Decree and Statute made to preuent and restraine the manifest wrongs and injuries of Charmers. *Alienas Segetes ne incantato*, saith the Law, *Alienas Segetes in-cantando ne pellexeris*, that is, Let no man charme his neighbours graine. Let no man by charmes and incan-

incantations carry away or transport anothers graine. There are many other true reports and records of other wonderfull works and supernaturall feates, all alike offered vnto the outward sence: Their enumeration or citation is not further needfull. It is sufficient whatsoeuer or how many soeuer they be, that they are workes supernaturall, that they are manifest to sence, that they are of the Diuell, and that the Witch or Sorcerer doth manifest his guilt therein, by voluntary presenting himselfe therein, by manifest vndertaking any part or office in the performance or by promising, and according to promise causing to come to passe. The reason is infallible. He that doth vndertake voluntarily, doth present himselfe and doth promise, and according to promise, cause to be performed that which is in anothers power; and impossible vnto himselfe, doth thereby necessarily and vnan- swerably prooue himselfe to haue an interest, a power, a contract with that other, which for any man to haue with the Diuell, is society with Diuels, which is Witch-craft and Sorcerie. And thus hath been declared, how the supernaturall workes of the Diuell and Sorcerers may bee manifest to the outward sence, and the true testimony thereof.

An obiection here may be made, that many of the former workes may seeme manifest to the sence, which indeed and truth are deceits of the imagination and illusion; and therefore there can be no such certainty vnto the outward sence. It is truly * answered, He that wanteth so much true iudgement, as to distinguish when he doth see a certain true object offered vnto his sight from without, and when he is incoun- tred only with a resemblance thereof from within his fancie and imagination, is diseased in body or mind, or both, and therefore is no comperent Iudge or witnesse in these or any o- ther weighty affaires. For he that is in health of body, and in the outward organes & instruments of sence, and sound in his reason, iudgment, & vnderstanding, though sometime the fogge and mist of deceived sence, or fancy, ouersadow the brightnes of true & vndeceived reason for a short time in him

Things imag-
ned and fane-
ed, easily dis-
cerned from
those things
which are real
& true object
of the sence.

yet it cannot so perpetually eclipse it, but it will recouer his light and true splendor againe, and truth wil shine more excellently in the end out of that darkenesse. This is very lively scene in the example of *S. Peter, Acts 12. verse 10. 12.* who at first did thinke he had onely seene the Angell which God sent vnto him to deliuer him out of bonds, in a dreame or vision: but when afterward he was come to himselfe, and his true sense and reason, hee then perfectly discerned and knew that he was really deliuered out of prison by an Angel of God.

If men could not certainly discerne betweene that which they do really see, and that they falsely imagine in visions, dreames and fancie, then were the life of man most miserable, there could be no certainty of truth, no excelling in knowledge or vnderstanding. All men should be a like vnable to distinguish, whether we liue in dreames only, or in wakefull deed. But the certain knowledge which God hath giuen vnto mankind, in so infinite kindes and measures, doth proue the eminence of reason and vnderstanding aboue the intanglements and depression of sense and fancie.

There remaineth as yet another doubt, which is, how those things which before were mentioned to be spirituall & supernaturall can be subiect in reason vnto outward sense or be knowne thereby, howsoeuer by the former examples, it doth so seeme. It is true that a Spirit and a Spirituall work simply in it selfe in the owne nature and substance, cannot be seene by any bodily eyes, or be deprehended by any outward sense.

Notwithstanding, as they doe mixe themselues with bodily substances, which are subiect to sense, by accident Spirits, and spirituall operations, are certainly tryed and discovered euen vnto sense. For how is it possible that a Spirit should mixe it selfe in corporall things, but the discrepant nature thereof, and mighty difference, must produce and beget some great apparent alteration, which alteration being beyond the wonted nature of the one, doth proue another

fu.

*Spiritus in-
corpori & à
sacrificibus no-
stris remoti
operibus con-
spicui.
Fernel lib. 1. de
Ab. Rer. caus.
cap. 11.

superiour nature in the other? For illustration hereof, let vs borrow an instance from one of the forenamed manifest Sorceries. Water is turned into bloud by a Spirituall power. The eye doth manifestly see the water, and as apparently after see the bloud, and is a true and vndeceiued witnesse of both. Reason and common sense doe know the transmutation to proceed from an inuisible power, which appearing in visible bodies, is by them apart scene, and doth detect an inuisible Author, because an immediate effect manifested to sense, doth necessarily in nature proue the immediate cause, though hidden and vnknowne to sense. That inuisible and spirituell things may, by those things which are visible and bodily, be conceiued and discerned, the holy Scripture doth witnesse in these words of S. Paul, *Rom. I. verse 20.* The inuisible things of God (sayth he) are scene by the visible things, or by his workes in the creation of the world, which are visible.

It may be here demaunded, since it is the propertie of the Diuel, in his seeming miraculous contriuements and actions (though a limited and finite obiect creature of God) yet to indeuour to counterfeit & imitate the most high and mightiest workes of wonder of the infinite Creator, thereby to magnifie, deifie, and equall himselfe vnto God in vnbelieuing and seduced hearts: Since, I say, this is his property, how shall the fraile vnderstanding and capacity of man distinguish the maruailes of the diuell, so liuely resembled thereto, from the true miracles, and truly miraculous workes of God, that thereby with more facility, and lesse confusion, industrious mindes may discover the proper workes and acts of the Diuel, and his associates, Enchaunters, Witches, and Sorcerers? First, the true miracles of God being transcendent aboue all created power, and the immediate effects onely of a creating vertue, Almighty God for his sole good will and pleasure doth vsually and euer dispense by the hands and through the administration of holy men, *Prophets* and *Apostles* manifestly called of God. Secondly, the end and

scope of Gods miracles, directly and mainly ayme and are bent at the glory of God, and the benefit of his people, not vnto any priuate end; any particular vaine end; tending to satisfaction of priuate lusts and curiositie.

For this cause the holy Apostles vsed the gift of miracles not vnto any other ends, then vnto the confirmation of that holy Gospel, which they preached and published from God, neither did they therein ascribe ought vnto their own praise or glory, but solely vnto the praise and glory of God, and the good of his Church.

That this was their true end, and ought to be the scope and end of all that receiue the power of miracles from God, S. Paul doth witnesse and teach, 1. Cor. chap. 12. vers. 4, 5, 6, 7. Now there are (saith hee) diuersities of gifts, but the same Spirit: and there are diuersities of administrations, but the same Lord: and there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is giuen to euery man to profit withall.

It is from hence manifest, that if any miracles proceed from God as Author, they are dispensed by men, sanctified by God, and who can and are able to proue & iustifie their warrant from God: as also that these men of God do solely profess and bend them vnto the glory of God, and the weale of his Church. This then is the square and infallible rule by which all miracles doe stand or fall, and are approued either to be of God, or conuincied to be of Diuels.

Let vs then conclude this point, with that excellent & diuine saying of Theophilact, vpon the 9. chap. of S. Luke. *Prædicatio miraculis & miracula prædicatione sancuntur. Multi enim sæpe miracula ediderunt per Demones, sed eorum doctrina non erat sana, quamobrem eorum miracula non extiterunt a Deo.* That is, the word of God doth establish & confirme the truth of miracles, and miracles ratifie and confirme the authoritie and truth of the word. For many haue done miracles by the power of the diuel, but their doctrine was corrupt & not sound; and therefore their miracles were not of God. Wheresoeuer therefore

therefore myracles or supernaturall works shall dare to shew their heads; not contained within those limits or compasse, that is neither proued immediately from God himselfe, nor mediately by him reuealed in his writ & word of truth, they are iustly to be suspected to issue from the enemies of God, the Diuell, and euill Spirits, and therefore their Authors ought to be accomptant therin vnto Iustice, and all religious ministers and seruants of God and Iustice, in the most strict and seuerer extent of Lawe. And thus much concerning the manifestation of the supernaturall workes of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto or through the outward Sense.

CHAP. VII.

The workes of the Diuell or Witches manifest to Reason, or consequence of Reason.

ALl doubts being cleared, it hath vndoubtedly appeared how supernaturall and spirituall workes are apparent to sense. It now followeth to declare, how likewise they are euident to Reason, or necessary to consequence of Reason.

Those things are said to be proper objects of Reason and vnderstanding: which, being remote frō the immediate view or notice of the outward senses, are grounded vpon vniuersall and intellectuall knowne positions, propositions, and certaine & vndoubted general notions, by necessary collections, or ratiocinations. That we may build the foundation of this our Reason or Ratiocination vpon the infallible truth of Gods holy Word which shall neuer be shaken: let vs for the detection of Witches and Sorcerers, by reason, and consequence of reason, syllogise directly and immediately from God himselfe.

Thus saith Almightye God, *Isaiah chap. 8. verse 19.* And when they shall say vnto you, Enquire of those that haue a Spirit of Diuination, and at the South-sayers, which mur-

mure and whisper, should not a people enquire of their God? Vnder this interrogatiue (should not a people inquire of their God?) is vnderstood this affirmatiue; A people should enquire of no other Spirit, but of their God alone.

From this holy text and writ, reason doth assume and collect necessarily, and truely.

First, that many things are hidden from the knowledge of man, which are reuealed vnto the science and knowledge of Spirits. Otherwise neither would man aske or enquire of Spirits (as hath been vsuall in all ages) neither should God haue occasion here to forbid the enquiring at Spirits. That the ignorance also of man in things knowne to Spirits, is the true, First and originall motiue or reason for enquiring at Spirits, is very plaine by the words of King *Saul*, 1. *Sam. chap. 28. verse 15*. God is departed from me (saith he) vnto the vision of *Samuel*, raised by the Diuell, and answereth me no more, neither by Prophets, neither by dreames: therfore haue I called thee, that thou maist tell mee what I should doe.

Here is a manifest graunt of knowledge in Spirits aboue men. Secondly, reason doth hence collect, that all Spirits that doe suffer themselues to be enquired at, are euill Spirits, and therefore Diuels; because Almighty God hath here expressly forbidden the enquiring at any other Spirit beside himselfe: and therefore good and holy Spirits will not, nor can not disobey the commandement of God, nor countenance or assist men in so doing. Thirdly, reason doth necessarily hence conclude, that such men as are enquired at for reuelations of things hidden from the skill and possibilitie of knowledge in man, are Sorcerers, Witches, and South-sayers.

The consequence and inference of this reason is iust; for that to promise those things, or to vndertake those things which are out of their owne knowledge, and solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits and Diuels, doth manifestly proue in the performance, their interest, societie, and con-

Angeli boni
non possunt
peccare, Per.
Lomb.d.7.li.2
This doth
condemne that
white Magick
or Theourgia,
which is sup-
posed or pre-
tended conse-
rence with
good Spirits.

47
contract with Spirits and Diuels', which is Sorcery and Witch-craft.

It may bee here obiected, that there are some men who affect to be resorted vnto, and to bee enquired at in things supposed hidden from the knowledge of man, and to be reputed able vnto such Reuelations, though haply they practise to deceiue, vnder the colour or pretence, of such abilitye.

It is iustly hereto answered, that this their presumption ought to be seuerely enquired into, whether it doe taste of ought that is diabolicall, of the Diuell, or supernaturall: and if nothing so doe, yet in this grand cause of God himselte, the religious ieaousie of the prudent Magistrate, ought to punish their presumption, which dare affect to vndertake the name or note of a sinne, so odious and abominable vnto Almighty God. Let vs for better impression, againe repeate and iterate those things which were collected out of the propounded text.

First, that there is knowledge in Spirits of things hidden, and separated from the knowledge of man.

Secondly, that such Spirits as are enquired at, and doe reueale such knowledge vnto man, are Diuels.

Thirdly, that men which doe practise to be enquired at for such supposed Reuelations, ought not onely to be iustly suspected, and inquired into, but that if they be found therewithall, to know and reueale those things, which are indeed and really aboue and beyond the knowledge of man, and are properly and onely in the power of Spirits; that then this doth infallibly proue their interest, power, and societie with Diuels, which is certaine and assured Sorcery and Witch-craft.

And thus hath reason drawne a demonstration out of the booke of God, of a certaine Witch, and manifest Sorcerer. Let vs now exercise our selues in the consideration, examination, and tryall of some particulars herein.

Who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous

mous and renowned *British* Wisard *Merlin*, and of his high and great esteeme among Princes for his prophesies? Vnto his fore-sight and predictions, from many fore-going ages, the successes and euent of diuers Princes affaires, in their seuerall raignes, haue been vsually by diuers times and histories referred.

For this cause Master *Camden*, in the description of *Caermarden-shire*, doth terme him the *Tages* of the *Britans*.

Speede in his tractate of the ancient Inhabitants of great *Britane*; as also of the life of *Aurelius*, *Ambrosius*, and of the raigne of King *Iohn*, and of *Henry* the fourth, doth out of *Malmesbury*, and others, recite diuers accidents & euent, in seuerall succeeding ages, vnto his oraculous and miraculous illuminations, ascribed to haue bene foreseene, foretold, and knowne.

If there be truth in those Oracles, and ancient fore-seeing Reuelations, they doe necessarily inferre the assistance of a power, farre superiour vnto all the power of man. Therefore whosoever doth finde them true, must conclude their Author a Witch or Sorcerer. Neither hath the generall reception, or opinion of Authors, been here-from different, who haue published him the sonne of an *Incubus*, or the sonne of a Witch, begotten by the Diuell. As it is said of this ancient time-noted, and age-viewed Sorcerer; so may be testified of many other.

What shall wee iudge of that infamous woman, among the French, called *Ioane of Arc*, by others *Ioane Pucell de Dien*? *Iohn de Serres*, the French historian, doth report, that shee had many miraculous Reuelations, whereof the King (then *Charles* the seuenth) and all his armie and men of warre, were open wondering witnesses, and in those reuelations for the most part, there was found no lesse wondrous truth, then true wonder.

By her sole incouragement, and stout assurance of successe, built vpon miraculous reuelations, the French prosperously incountred the victorious English in France, at seuerall times,

times, and against all humane reason, recovered their in reason-vnrecoverable, and most desperate standing, euen neere vnto the pit of vtter downefall, with more then vspeakeable amazement and terrour, vnto the sodainely confounded English.

Notwithstanding, at length shee was taken prisoner by the English, executed and burnt for her Witch-craft. What shall wee say or iudge of other the like Authors, and broachers of supernaturall reuelations and predictions in other times? The fore-mentioned Historian reporteth, that a Wisard foretold Duke *Biron* of his death, and that he should dye by the backe blow of a *Burguignon*, who afterward prooued his Executioner, being that Countrey man.

Melancton out of *Carion* doth recite the mention of a woman, of the order of the *Druides* among the *Tungri*, who foretold *Dioclesian* that hee should be Emperour of *Rome*, when he had first killed a Boare, which prooued afterward one *Aper*, then an Vsurper, which in the Latine tongue signifieth a Boare.

Suetonius writeth of a Diuinour, who long before was able to make knowne the death, and the manner of the death, and murder of *Iulius Caesar*.

Philippe de Commynes, in his 8. Book, Chap. 19. doth make mention of one Frier *Hierome*, and of his many admirable reuelations & predictions, concerning the affaires of the king of *France*, which as from the Friers owne mouth, he himselfe did of heare, so with his owne eyes he did witnesse and behold their issue true. It was disputed whether in these transcendent reuelations the Frier were a man of God or no, and it is doubtfully there concluded.

In these like reuelations and prophecies reason cannot deny, but must acknowledge the manifest impression and stampe, of more then humane Science or demonstration. If we desire or affect more specially to viewe what our owne Histories at home afford: who can deny him a Wisard, or Witch, who as *M^r. Spauld* and others testifie, in the reigne of

Richard the Vsurper foretold, that vpon the same stone where hee dashed his spurre, riding toward *Bosworth* fielde, he should dash his head in his returne: which proued accordingly true, when being slaine in battell, he was caried naked out of the field, and his head hanging low by the horse side behinde his bearer did smite vpon the same stone in the passage, where before in passage he had strooken his heele and spurre.

Speede.

What can be deemed lesse of the Author of that propheticie in *Edward* the fourth; that is, that *G.* should murder king *Edwards* heires, which *G.* vnderstood of the Duke of *Glocester*, was too true.

How can he likewise escape the iust supition of the same foule crime, from whom originally or first was deriued that propheticie or prediction in *Henry* the fift, concerning his sonne, as yet then vnborne, videlicet, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* should winne (which was *Henry* the fift) *Henry* of *Windsor* should lose (which was *Henry* the sixt and his sonne) as it after came truly to passe?

But here may bee objected, that since it is sayd by God himselfe, that no man ought to aske of any other Spirit, but of God alone, things hidden and vnreuealed to men, *Isa. 8. verse 19.* before alleaged; and since for that cause it is not to be doubted, that many things may be reuealed by God vnto men, for this cause and reason (I say) it may be deemed & objected, that some of the former reuelations and prophecies may be free from the imputation of Witch-craft, & Sorcery.

It is vnanswerably answered to this objection: First, that all the reuelations and prophecies which are of God, are euer published by holy Prophets and men of God, immediately called by God himselfe vnto these, their holy functions and places. Secondly, these holy vessels, holy Saints and seruants of God, which are the publishers of Gods reuelations or prophecies, doe euer auouch and openly professe God himselfe to bee Authour thereof, from whom they onely clayme, and openly proclaim their immediate and expresse warrant.

warrant and commission, as appeareth by all the prefixions of their prophecies: Thus sayth the Lord, The word of the Lord, The burden of the Lord, The reuelation of Iesus Christ, and the like. Thirdly, the reuelations and prophecies which are thus deriued and sent from God, carry in themselves some manifest stampe of their authority and power from God, in some fruites or effects correspondent and answerable to the nature, wil and pleasure of God, and are directly and originally bent and intended vnto the glory of God, and the publike wele & good of his Church & people.

By these notes and infallible markes of Gods holy prophecies and reuelations, may be euidently discerned a cleere difference and distinction thereof from diuelish predictions, and Sorcerous prognostications, which therefore cannot throwde or hide themselves vnder colour or pretense therof, being duely and rightly expended.

It may be yet further objected, that some learned and truly religious seruants of God (though no publike Ministers of Propheticall functions or callings) haue had sometimes their special reuelatiōs of some particular things, in which it were not only manifestly iniurious, but plainly & extremely ridiculous to accompt them Witches. It is true, and cannot be denyed that Almighty God sometimes, by dreams, sometimes by secret prodigies doth admonish some his priuate seruants, good and holy men, of some things to come, for their own priuate & retired reformation, information or better preparatiō; but that any prophecies or reuelations can be of God, that are obscurely whispred or cast abroad by any unwarranted or profane Authors, without any manifest warrant, cōmission, or authority from God, in the vpright iudgement of all men that truly worship & feare the true God, the the God of hostes, is much irreligion and profane credulity to auouch or affirme. Nay, it is altogether contrary and contradictory, & therefore impossible to God his miraculous reuelations, visions & prophecies, ordinarily, or commonly to serue or wait vpon the ordinary ends or vses of priuate men,

since all true miracles and miraculous reuelations are euer in their proper nature and true end, solely attendant vpon God his immediate commaund and word, vnto his extraordinary workes. To make it therefore ordinary, or a thing common or of customary practice, to foretell or giue prediction of things to come, must necessarily proceede from the Diuell, since the gift of true prophesie, and the Spirit of true reuelation is not subiected to the common or vsuall intentions of men; neither can profit or commodity or sale be made thereof by men at their pleasure, as is not vnwonted with all the disciples of *Simon Magnus*, Sorcerers and Witches, in their markets and fayres made of their prophesies and reuelations.

If then these whispered reuelations cannot be of God, then are they necessarily of the Diuell. If they proceed from the Diuell, then by an ineuitable conclusion, those men are his instruments or organs, by whom or through whom they originally flowe, or are deriued vnto men and published. It may be yet further objected, that in men possessed by the Diuell, as were those men in the Gospell, whose bodies the Diuell did really rend and teare (in whom he did roare and crie out) whom he cast into the midst of the people. It may be (I say) objected, that in those possessed and the like, there may bee reuealed many things hidden from men, without the imputation or iust opinion of Witch-craft or Sorcerie in them.

That this may bee, is manifest in the Gospell, where the Diuel in the possessed vttered words of knowledge then hidden from men, but by extraordinary reuelation, when he acknowledged our Sauiour to be *IESVS* the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not in any possibility of mans reason bee knowne vnto the possessed, because it was then but in part reuealed vnto the Disciples themselves, who were as yet but learners themselves and Scholers of that diuinitie; neither had the naturall man, or the world as yet so much as tasted or sauoured any notice thereof.

The like may be objected concerning those that are obsessed. I call them obsessed, in whose bodies outwardly appearing no extraordinarie signes or tokens of the Diuels corporall presidence, or residence in them (as was in the possessed manifest) yet are their mindes, vnderstanding, wils, and reason some palpably obserued to bee besieged, captiued and enchanted, by an extraordinary and more then naturall, or rather an infernall inuasion of the Diuels illusions, for the magnifying and aduancing whereof, the Diuell doth oft-times mix and temper them with some rare and wonderfull reuelations, by or through the obsessed deliuered.

From these obiections both concerning the possessed, and also the obsessed, doth issue a necessary sequel, that prophecies and reuelations are not alwaies inseparable testimonies of a Witch.

It is truely hereto answered, that soly and simply reuelations are not sufficient euidences, or conuictions of a Witch, or Sorcerer, but with difference and distinction.

Supernaturall reuelations vnrequiredly transfused and transferred by the Diuel, doe not proue the persons in whom they are found, to bee their owne free or desirous Agents in consent therein, but rather properly and truely the Diuels Patients, and therefore it cannot bee their guilt, but his intrusion, vsurpation, and insidiation: but supernaturall reuelations, in which any man shall knowingly, and deliberately consult with, or inquire at a knowne Spirit, and inioyning the free libertie of his will, not depraued or corrupted by illusions or diseases, shall with consent or allowance thereof entertaine, commerce conference or assistance of Spirits vnto that purpose: such reuelations (I say) wherefoeuer truely and duely detected, doe demonstratiuely and infallibly point out a Witch or Sorcerer.

Although therefore the possessed, or obsessed, are iustly acquitted in their reuelations and prophecies, because transmitted or sent vnrequired, and vnknowingly vnto them, yet cannot the Witch or Sorcerer bee any thing at all aduanta-

Master Perkin
in his discours
of Witch-craft
Ch. 3. pag. 122
doth diuide
likewise Witches
vnto such
within whom
the Diuel is
not inwardly,
but from
without doth
inspire them
within whom
hee is, as
was the Py-
thonisse at
Phillippi Act.
16. 16.

ged, or cleared in his reuelations, which are euer detected to be both by him affected (as is proued by his mercinarie sale therof) and also fore-thought and premeditate, as is euident by his promised and couenanted vndertaking thereof, according to conditions or agreement.

All obiections therefore, doubts and impediments removed, let vs build a neuer-deceiuing, and inuiolate conclusion concerning Witches, vpon this neuer-failing nor shaken foundation: that is, all supernaturall reuelations or prophecies whatsoeuer, that issue not either immediately, and manifestly from God himselfe (the prooffe and touchstone whereof hath been before touched, and briefly declared) or from the Diuell in the ignorant possessed or obsessed, or are not counterfeited and imposturous (which is likewise else-where in the due place considered) all other reuelations (I say) whatsoeuer, not excepted nor included in one of these, are vndoubtedly issuing from Witches and Sorcerers, and are certaine and demonstratiue proofes and evidences of Witchcraft and Sorcery, in whom they are originally first detected. And thus how Reason doth cull and draw forth a Witch or Sorcerer, hath euidently beene cleared and declared.

CHAP. VIII.

Of diuers kinds and manners, wherein Sorcerers and Witches receiue knowledge from Spirits.

AS Almighty God hath out of the Text before mentioned, *Isaiah 8.* in generall made euident, who is infallibly a Witch or Sorcerer: so hath he in other places of Scripture manifested some of their seuerall kinds, according to the different shapes and formes, in which they do enquire at Spirits for their knowledge and reuelations.

This is apparent out of the 18. chap. of *Deuteronomie*, verse

10. Let

10. Let none be found amongst you that vseth Witchcraft. What Witch-craft is, was before out of the Prophet *Isaiab* declared.

Now in this place doth follow the enumeration of some of the special or particular shapes in which they shrowde themselves. Let none bee found among you (saith the Prophet) that vseth witch-craft: and immediatly after doth adde those particular formes in which they enquire: A regarder of times: a marker of the flying of fowles: a Charmer: a Sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsell of the dead. As therefore before we proued, that the infallible true note of a Witch in generall, and in common vnto all Witches, and Sorcerers, of what kinde so euer, is to bee enquired at in things hidden from men (as is likewise by those words of *Saul* apparent, *Sam. 1. chap. 28. verse 7.* Seeke mee a woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may goe to her and aske of her :) so here in this text are reckoned vp some of their seuerall shapes, by which in true & sound reason, and the due consequent thereof, we may consider and collect many other, though not here numbred, or mentioned.

For since the common and inseparable signe or marke of Witches is certainly made knowne to bee, the practice of reuealing vnto men that enquire those things which are hidden from men, and onely reuealed by Spirits: it followeth by necessarie consequent, that not onely those which are here specially nominated, in that shape of marking of the flying of fowles, or of charming, or of raising the dead, but all other whatsoeuer, in what other shape so euer that is, hath or can be deuised, that shall bee found to practise or vnder-take to be enquired at, and to giue answer and reuelation of things separated from the knowledge of man, and which God hath hidden from men, and therefore hath forbidden by Spirits to be made knowne to men; all such (I say) in what shape so euer, as well in these kindes here named, are, according to the generall note of a Witch, to be iudged Witches and Sorcerers.

For

30
For as the holy Scripture hath nominated and pointed out vnto vs some few kindes, as a light onely vnto all the rest: so may common experience by these bring others vnto our view, and all ages haue vpon the records of time and history, left vnto succeeding posteritie, many memorable and famous Witches, not onely in these shapes and formes shrowded, which are here mention, but in many other.

Astrologers.

Besides those kindes therefore, which here the holy Scripture hath nominated, let vs take a short view of some other, which are in other shapes found (since all are in their comon kinde and nature the same.) It is no strange thing, that in the shape, and vnder the pretense of *Astrologie*, some men haue hidden sorcerous practice, and performing vnder the colour thereof such things as were onely in the power of Spirits, haue thereby cleerely manifested, that they deriued and borrowed them of Spirits. *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his historie *de rebus Danicis*, doth make mention of a sort of Wisards, who would vndertake for gaine, to foretell the certaine state and constitution of weather to come so assuredly, that they would vsually sell vnto Marchants prosperous and fortunate windes, when by aduerse and opposite gales they were de-
teyned from their intended voyage.

This kinde of Sorcerer may very rightly be referred vnto that which in the 18. *Dent. vers. 10.* is noted by a regar-der of times, which perhaps may also not vnaptly be vnderstood a *Magicall Astrologer*. His performance aboue the nature and power of his Art, of that which is onely in the power of a Spirit, doth both detect the Diuel to be chiefe Author of the works, and the other to be also guilty to the worke.

That the professors of *Astrologie* haue in former ages vnto *Astrologie* ioyned this diuelish skill and custome; as also other kindes of *Diabolicall Diuinations*, plainly doth appeare.

First, by the word of God, *Danil 2. verse 2.* wherewith the *Astrologers*, the *Caldoues*, *Magicians*, *Sorcerers* and *Enchanters* are conioyned.

Secondly,

Secondly, it doth appeare by the Lawes, which by the Romane Emperours were provided against them jointly together, with Caldeans, Magicians, and Southsayers. The words of one ancient Law are, *Nemo Aruspice[m] consulas, aut Mathematicum, nemo Ariolum, Caldeum, Magum*; that is, let it bee enacted or ordered that no man aske counsell of a Southsayer, a Mathematician, an Astrologer, a Caldean, a Magician.

Dion in the 27. booke of History, doth make mention of Astrologers, who by diuelish skill practised and vsed to send the Diuell to present dreames vnto men in their sleep; for which cause *Tiberius* the Emperor reuenged himselfe vpon such Astrologers, though otherwise himselfe a great friend and louer of Astrologie. Sir *Christopher Heydon* in his defence of iudiciall Astrologie, doth out of *Osiander* recite this distinction of Astrologie: *Astrologia pura qua nihil habet de Magia*, that is, Astrology that is not mixed, nor intermeddleth with Magicke. Wherby is necessarily concluded, that Astrology may be, and sometimes is impure and defiled with Magicke and Sorcerie. In other places of the same worke, he maketh a difference betweene Astrologers simply, and such as with Astrologie ioined Magicke. And out of *Brentius* he reciteth these words, *Non negat Hierimias eam partem Astrologia, qua sequitur manifestas naturae rationes*; that is, the Prophet *Ieremy* doth not deny or condemne that part of Astrology, which is guided by manifest reason or cause in nature. Hereby then is vnauidably concluded, that the Prophet of God cōdemneth that part of Astrology, which exceedeth causes & reason in nature, & that necessarily must needs be Sorcery and Magicke. As it is not obscure, that some men vnder the colour of Astrology haue practised Magicke and Sorcery; so is it no lesse euident, that many others, vnder the pretence of aduising and counselling in Physicke of curation or prognostication of diseases, haue likewise exercised the same diuelish practice.

That this hath beene no new vpstart custome, the multi-

* This kinde of Diuel is called, *Diabolus*.

* Page 27

* Page 29

- Hipp. libro
de Sacro mor.
bo de Magis.
- Dioscor. lib.
2. cap. 102.
- Theophrast'
de hist. Plant.
- Trallianus, lib.
9. cap. 4.
- Galenus lib.
de Medica Ho.
meri tracta-
tione.

tude of diseases, which ancient times doe register to haue beene cured by enchanted Spels, and words, and Magicke skill, doth plentifully witness. The most ancient father of all Physicke and Physicians, the incomparable worthy founder of Method and Art, ^a Hippocrates, ^b Dioscorides, ^c Theophrastus, with other succeeding Ancients, do generally all acknowledge the force and power of *Magicall* curation. Galen in his younger time gaue no credit thereto, but in the more aged experience of right obseruation he doth acknowledge it. I will not stutle this small Treatise with the particular citation of euery Author. Later Physicians also of the best and most choyse note, doe herein, with former ages consent and concurre, and experience doth confirme all truth in both.

Whosoener is acquainted with books and reading, shal euery where meet a world of the wonders of cures, by words, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites. As what the practice of former ages hath beene is manifest; so what our age and later time doth herein afford, is almost no where in this kingdome obscure. The needrest vnto that impudence, which here in this our time doth produce and set forth; is that history of a *Germane Witch*, reported in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

There was (as the Author of that worke sayth) sometime a Sorceresse in *Germany*, who vsually cured not only all that were bewitched, but all kinde of diseased people, so farre beyond all power or course of Art and Nature, and with such facility, that all vse of the Art of Physicke, or of Physicians was altogether (for a time) neglected and forsaken; while people from all Countreies, both neere and remote, in such numbers and frequency resorted vnto her, that the Gouernour of that Countrey imposing vpon euery man one penny that resorted vnto her, thereby raised himselfe a mighty treasure.

What others among the most ancient Authors, that are not Physicians do publish, concerning the power of incantations in the curing of diseases is needlesse to write. Hec that hath

hath read any few lines of old *Homer*, or of diuers other aged Poets, shall finde plentiful record hereof. *Herodotus* is not silent herein. But so omit all their needlesse testimonies, Physicians of those last times, of the most eminent note & worth (whose penes are yet scarce drie) doe witnesse the truth hereof from their owne knowledge, sight and experience. Aboue the rest, *Fernelius de Abditiorum causis* is worthy any mans paines or view.

Let vs now lastly see what may bee collected out of the booke of God, concerning the power of the Diuell in curing diseases, from whom all these inferiour Agents, Witches and Sorcerers do deriue their power and skill. If it bee in his power, where God doth permit, to induce diseases, it must needs be in his power to cease or calme diseases; because both causing and curing consist in the vertue and force of the same meanes. He therefore that knoweth how and by what cause the disease is induced, doth necessarily vnderstand, that by the remouall of that cause it is cured, and according to that rule can equally, as well by the remouall of that cause, cure, as by the induction of the cause bring sickness. For this reason it is a maxime in Physicke infallible, that hee is the most excellent Physician, who knoweth best the causes of diseases, and who vpon the knowledge of their true causes doth found the right method of their curation.

That the Diuell doth both know the causes of diseases, and also how by them to procure and produce diseases, is manifest by the history of *Iob*, vpon whom hee brought that grievous generall botch and byle ouer all his body, *Iob. chap. 2. verse 7.* That he did this by the force of causes in nature, must needs be euident: first, because hee is a creature, and subiect and limited by nature vnto and within her lists; and therefore is not able absolutely and simply without causes and meanes in nature, to produce any effects in nature, although our ignorance of his power and knowledge (because it so farre excelleth our power or nature) doth call all his workes iustly supernaturall. Secondly, for that byles and

botches are knowne naturall diseases; and therefore had naturall causes, although haply vnknowne to any man, and beyond the nature of knowledge or skill in man.

Creatio est
constitutio
substantiæ ex
nihilò, Scalig.
de Subt. Exer.
c. 7, Sect. 13.

These reasons of the Diuels impossibility, to worke those effects without nature, are thus yet more briefly and cleerely made infallible. Of nothing simply to produce any thing vnto a true being and existence, is the sole and proper worke of an infinite Creator, and impossible vnto any creature. Therefore the Diuell being a creature, could not bring those diseases vpon *Iob*, but by created meanes preexisting in created nature, in which he is contained and limited. And thus much concerning that kinde of Witch and Sorcerer, which is enquired at concerning the curing and issue of diseases, which we will conclude with this note, that all learned men of the best experience haue obserued; that in those cures by Witches and Sorcerers, the Diuell hath neuer perfectly healed, but for a time; or els where he hath seemed most perfectly to cure, it hath been for a reseruatiõ of the body by him cured, vnto a greater and further mischiese in time to succede. Besides, this kind of Witch, by meanes vknown to man, or by a supernaturall vertue in knowne means aboue & beyond their nature, vndertaking to cure the sick, or to foretell the euent and issues of diseases, there is also another kind which doth vndertake to bee enquired at for extraordinary reuelation of such diseased persons, as are bewitched or possessed by the Diuell. This kinde is not obscure, at this day swarming in this kingdom, wherof no man can be ignorant; who lusteth to obserue the vncontrouled liberty & license of open & ordinary resort in all places vnto wise men, & wise women, so vulgarly termed for their reputed knowledge concerning such diseased persons as are supposed to be bewitched.

Wisemen and
Wise women.

But it may be obiected, that many of these two last mentioned sorts are rather deceiuers, and Impostors onely, who by an opinion of this power, and not by any reall power herein, do deceiue, seduce, and beguile the people. This can-

not

not in some be denied: notwithstanding least impious imposture be still tolerated to bee a couert to hide the manifest diuellish practice of Witches, vnder pretense thereof (whereby it shall euer continue in this shape neglected or vnspied) I will both briefly giue satisfaction how the one may be distinguished from the other, and also declare how men ceasing to enquire at Diuels and Witches, or Impostors, may learne to enquire of their God alone, and by the light of nature and reason (which he hath giuen vnto them) in his feare, with his allowance and approbation, more truely and certainly informe themselves.

CHAP. IX.

Of Wisards and Impostors, how they differ from Witches.

HOW Witch-craft in diuers kindes may, according to euidence of reason, be detected, hath beene before made manifest. How imposture may be discouered (since there is so good vse and necessitie of the distinction thereof, for the more perfect separating and setting apart of Witch-craft by it selfe) wee will likewise briefly make manifest.

* The Impostor is he who pretendeth truth, but intendeth falshood. For this cause sometimes vnder an holy pretense, he maketh God the Author of his vnholly prestigiacion, and slandereth God vnto his face. Sometimes to be reputed an Angell of light, he maketh himselfe a license to counterfet the Diuell. He proposeth it his trade to seduce, and liueth by lying. Sometimes in shew and pollicitation hee is a Witch, but in the performance of the greater sinne hee is lesse iust, and in the personate resemblance solely a Iuggler. For as the Witch performeth that which in true, and infallible reason is transcendent and aboue nature; so the Impostor performeth that which in false and fallible reason and opinion, onely seemeth parallel.

* Qui oculos fallent, alia pro aliis subditi ostentantes, i. prestigiatores ab antiquis dicti sunt. Scalliger.

Impostura ab eo dicta, quod adulterinas merces, pro veris supponit, Vlpian. Impostores dicuntur versuti & fallaces homines, qui merces adulterinas pro veris supponunt, Accursius.

* Ephes. 4. 14.
* Colos. 2. 23.

Hence as Witches doe strange and supernaturall workes, and truely vnto reason worthy of wonder; so the Impostor doth things voide of accomptable reason, in shadow, shew, and seeming onely supernaturall, wondred and admired. And hence it commeth to passe, that with vndiscerning mindes, they are sometimes mistaken and confounded * one for another.

See Reginald
cor in his
discouerie of
Witchcraft,
where in re-
ard of the
seeming like-
esse of Im-
postures and
Witchcraft,
erroneously he
confoundeth
them as one
and the selfe-
same sinne.

From hence it is also necessarily concluded, that as Witchcraft is discouered by a supernaturall worke aboue reason, whereto the Witches consent is accessary; so an Impostor is detected by a worke voide of accomptable reason, but in a deceiuing false Visar or shew, wherewith the purpose and intention of the Deceiuer or Impostor doth concur. As therefore the suspected Witch is tyed to answere vnto any iust doubt, which may bee directly vrged against his or her manifest voluntary action, that is proued supernaturall: so is a truely doubted Impostor bound to giue satisfaction, for such his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reason appeare fraudulent, vaine, prestigious, iuggling, couzening, or deceiuing. And thus shall each appeare in his owne true shape apart. Of diuers kindes of Witch-craft, I haue here produced examples.

I may here likewise very pertinently, for further illustration, propose some examples of Imposture in generall, that the odiousnesse of this foule sinne may appeare more foule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully discouered.

Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely some few, whereof some consist in lewd and guilefull contriue-ment of action, other in the bewitching power of false prophecies, reuelations, predictions, and prognostications.

Concerning the first, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impostures of *Mahomet*, who by guileful counterfeited miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated works, first magnified and set vp that heathenish * *Empire*, and Religion of the blasphemous *Turkes*?

The History of *Sebastian*, the pretended Portugall King,
as

* Polidorus
Virgil li. 7. cap.
vlt.

as it is set forth by *Iohn de Serres*, according to Master *Grimstones* translation thereof (if he were a true Impostor indeed, and were not iniuriously traduced, and blurred with undeserved reproch) is an incomparable example, aboue and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himselfe.

If wee desire more neere or domesticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of *Henry* the seuenth, * a boy of meane parentage, through imposturous machinations opposed, set vp and crowned King in Ireland, against that famous and renowned Prince *Henry* the seuenth, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England. * *Speede.*

In the late raigne of *Queene Mary*, there arose an Impostor, stiling himselfe *Edward* the sixth. The danger of the progresse of that Impostor (if it had preuailed) who knoweth not? The manifest wrongs, iniuries, and impeachments also from counterfeite prophecies, reuelations, and predictions, issuing not onely vnto priuate men and families, but vnto kingdomes, *Empires*, and common-weales, are infinite.

Iulian, an *Emperour* of *Rome*, though otherwise a mighty and learned Prince, and valiant souldier, by a prophecie of an Impostresse or seeming *Pythonisse*, promising his conquest, and triumph ouer the kingdome of *Persia*, was thither hastened vnto his deserued death, and the vengeance of God vpon his infamous *Apostasie*.

It is reported by *Iohn de Serres*, the French Chronicler, that the power and force of some pretended reuelations, and visions of a yong Shephcard, in the raigne of *Charles* the seuenth King of France, was so preualent, that it perswaded *Pothon* that great & famous French Captaine, with the Martriall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious English in the bowels of that kingdome; by which vnadvised attempt, the French were surprised and taken by the English.

It is recorded by the same Author, that one *Martha Brosier*, counterfeiting the fits and passions of such as were possessed

sed, in short time became so powerfull in illusion, that she ministred much matter of wonder and amazement, not onely vnto priuate men, but vnto the Kings Counsell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea vnto the whole Parliament, vntill the counterfet Diuell induring some punishment and restraint, forsooke his pretended possession.

Speede.

If we require examples in our own country, behold, in the raigne of *Edward* the fourth, his brother *George* * Duke of *Clarence*, was hastened vnto his vntimely death, euen by the allowance of his brother King, vpon the feare of a vaine and flying prophetic, that *G.* of King *Edwards* heyres should bee the murtherer.

In the time of *Henry* the eight, the holy Maide of *Kent* by her seeming miraculous reuelations, deceiuing not onely the common sort, but euen diuers learned and seene men of the best ranke, and prime note, stirred vp in the King great iea- lousie, and feare of his Crowne and safety, as by the records of her attaindour doth appeare, wherein doth stand proued and sentenced her treason-some imposture of most dangerous consequent, if it had obtained equall issue.

Speede.

In the same kings raigne, the bewitching esteeme, credit, and hope of force and vertue in counterfeit predictions, and pretended reuelations, whet the ambitious heart of *Edward* * Lord *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, first into high Treason, and to reach at the Crowne, and after from thence thrust him headlong or headlesse into his graue.

In the raigne of *Edward* the sixt, there was a prophetic diuulged from the mouth of some pretended Wisard; by which the coniuration of *Kett*, & those *Norfolke* Rebels, was hartned and encouraged to proceede in their rebellion and outrage, vnto the great danger & damage of the kingdome, and in the end vnto their owne destruction. That blind pretended prophetic, in the insidiation of vaine and credulous mindes, was somewhat like vnto that ambiguous Oracle in *Virgils Aeneids*.

Aio, te Æacida Romanos vincere posse:

I say, the sonne of Æacus the Romane power shall quell.

This Oracle may on either side indifferently, either actiuelly or passiuelly be vnderstood. Like vnto it was that prestigious prophecie, which the rebellious *Norfolcians* with their *Kett* trusted:

Hob, Dic, and Hic with clubbes and clouted shoone,

Shall fill vp Duffin-dale with slaughtered bodies soone.

The Rebels vnderstanding this blinde reuelation, or prediction, concerning the victory wherein they themselues should bee Agents and not Patients, (as afterward their owne ruine did truly interpret it) and dreaming the filling vp of the *Duffin-dale* to be intended of other mens dead bodies, and not their owne, were thereby incited with furious courage, vnto the hazard of the kingdome and their natie Countrey, vntill their owne mangled and slaughtered carcasses became butchered spectacles, and bloody monuments of such illusion and imposture.

How many other feareful & horrid treasons haue bin built and grounded vpon other the like prodigious impostures? To recite the damages & wrongs done vnto priuate men by imposture in manifold kinds, were infinite. What should wee mention *Prior* * *Bolton* of *St. Bartholmewes* in *London*, who in * *Speede*. the raigne of *Henry* the eight, vpon the impression of an vniuersall worlds flood, grounded vpon pretended miraculous predictions, ridiculoufly buildeth himselfe an house or neast on the top of *Harrow* hil, to saue himselfe from drowning?

What mighty terrors did the wicked imposturous predictions of strange euents in the admirable yeare 88. strike into the comon people or vulgars of *England*? from whence, what different distractions in many priuate men did bring forth, to relate, were iust matter of profound laughter. What translations of dwellings, peregrinations into other Coun-

Philippe de
Commines,
booke 4. chap.
6. taxeth our
English Natio
for the multi-
tude and vani-
ty of flying
Prophecies in
this kinde.

tries, exchange of inheritances for monies, and other ridiculous extrauagant molitions did the approach of that yeare diuersly prepare? I will not waste paper in any more * particular recitals: Our later age and time hath not been barren of many wicked and harmeful fruits of imposturous prophecies, neither haue they altogether escaped the eye of Iustice, nor the blurre of infamy written in their names and chronicled memory. And although many impostures (because practised vpon priuate and more obscure personages) are lesse knowne and published, then such as are committed against Princes and States, and therefore are more remarkable in the eyes of al men, yet are they both equally in their natures pernicious: It were not now impertinent from the declaration of the mischiefes of imposture in generall, to descend vnto some such in particular, as are practised vnder the lying pretense and false colour of a transcendent and Magicke vertue. In examples of this kind, *Reignald Scott* doth ouer-abound in his discouery. It is not vnknowne vnto my owne prooffe, how vsuall it is with many, by the reputation of a Witch only, imposturously to promise and vndertake the miraculous curations, and prognostications of diseases and their issues; wherein, for breuity sake, and to auoide confusion, and the crambe or iteration of the same things, I wil referre the Reader to a former Manuell by my selfe published, where, although, by reason of my absence beyond and beside the *Errata*, many errors both in some words and sense doe still remaine; yea there are many things in this kinde worthy notice. Reade page 71. the Treatise of Wisards; likewise, in the second marginal note of the pag. 58. an history of a Chirurgion, famous in curing such as were bewitched: Likewise, page 109. 110. 111. an History of imposture, vnder the colour and pretense of the inspection and iudging of V-rines: and likewise, page 60. and from thence vnto the end of that whole Chapter.

There is a very rare, but true, description of a Gentlewoman, about sixe yeares past, cured of diuers kinds of convulsions,

sions, and other apoplecklike, epileptike, cataleptike, and paralytike fits, and other kinds of accidents of affinitie therewith. After she was almost cured of those diseases, but the cure not fully accomplished, it was by a reputed Wisard whispered, and thereupon beleueed, that the Gentlewoman was meerely bewitched, supposed Witches were accused, and after executed. The Gentlewoman hath been free from all those accidents there mentioned, the space of sixe yeares now past.

In this last past seuenth yeare, since the writing of that history, some of the former fits are *critically again returned: the same Wisard or Deceiuer resorted vnto and enquired at, doth now againe auouch her to be bewitched; vpon opinion whereof and trust in his illusion, the timely vse and benefit of due counsell hath beene much omitted and neglected. Her diseases which formerly, far exceeded these which now are, in number, frequence and vehemence, were in shorter space cured, and so continued the space of sixe yeares together. These fewe which now doe returne, due counsell and time neglected, though being in number fewer, lesse intricate, and farre lesse violent, haue notwithstanding a farre larger space of time continued.

If that Counseller or vndertaker to counsell, be a Wisard in name and reputation only (as I doe gesse and deeme him) then is this History an incomparable example and instance of the wickednesse, impietie and cruelty of imposture and Impostours. If he be found a Witch, then is it an vnanswerable euidence and instance of the Diuels iuggling, lying, illusion and deceiuing, wherof we made mention and prooffe before in the question or doubt concerning *Pythagoras* realty in two places. For, in true reason and iudicious discerning, it is as cleere as the brightest day, that no accident befalling the Gentlewoman mentioned, can be other then naturall, or farther supernaturall, then either the Diuels credit with a Witch, or an Impostors credit with deceiued and seduced men is able to inchaunt perswasion vnto vain affiance

* Plurimæ autem passiones puerulis iudicantur in septem mensibus, nonnullæ annum 17. Hipp. Aphor. 28. lib. 3. Morbi Diutini ad septenarij rationem habet Crisim, non septenarij quoad menses modo, sed quoad annos. Galen. in dictu Aphorism.

68 *The Tryall of a wicked life,*
in them. I referre the Reader to the consideration of the history at large, with that which here is added: I will only exhort all men not to be in those doubtfull cases, too violent, nor rash in asking or beleeuing vnworthy or worthlesse counsell, but to aske it of such as are truly and godly learned and prudent, and not of Impostours or Seducers, considering that the consequences of rashnesse, mistaking error and ignorance, are no lesse then the life or death of the sicke, a putting out of the eyes and light of reason, which God and Nature hath giuen man to walke withall in the darke pilgrimage of this life; a deprivation of due remedies which God hath allowed (white beguiled with vaine and foolish opinion, with wilfull blindnesse, they worthily esteeme not, nor will expect his grace and fauour therein.

Assuredly, he that doth giue vp himselfe to become a prey to folly and illusion, and led by deceiuers headlong into confused, vniustifiable, vnwarranted and inhibited explorations and trials, doth forsake the guidance and vse of right reason, and in stead thereof, is intemperately distracted with impatience of expectation of due respect and esteeme of Gods ordinance and allowance in his ordinary meanes; may iustly feare that God hath decreed and determined; not onely to dispoyle him of that common blessing which he hath promised to all that duely seek, and rightly vse his allowed meanes; but also that hee leaueth him vnto the cursed path and way of perpetuall blindnesse and hardnesse of heart therein, except his speciall and extraordinary diuine grace in time reduce his dangerous steps. For certainly he vnto whose blinded eies God doth offer so great mercy and fauour, as is plainly euident in all his ordained ordinary meanes, vnto euery good that befalleth man in this life; and with thankfulness cannot or will not behold it, when it is layd at his vnthankfull feete, is in a desperate way of a lethargicall disposition, or senselesse memory and oblition, both of his reason, and of himselfe, & of Gods mercifull goodnes towards him. And thus the vglinesse of imposture both by the description ther-

of, and also by example doth appeare, wherein may bee first seene, how they that trust thereto, doe forsake God, themselves and their owne common sense and reason, and giue themselves to bee swallowed vp of lying and illusion. Secondly in the whole course of imposture it selfe, is seene the continuall practice of mercilesse impiety, the vsuall wrong of the afflicted, the belying of truth, the deceiuing the miserable, the deprivation of the sicke, of the vse of due remedies and meanes which God hath made & blessed vnto men, that with praise vnto his name, patience & due dependance vpon his prouidence therein, can be contented to seeke and expect the likely and hopefull issue thereof, in vsuall course of nature. Lastly, may be collected, and obserued, the vse and necessitie of distinction betweene Imposture and Witchcraft; namely, that the odious & abominable sinne of witchcraft be not suffered to continue, vnregarded or neglected, vnder the colour of vaine Imposture, and that the Diuell be not suffered to liue amongst vs, too commonly, & too openly, in the coate and habite of a foolish Impostor, or Iuggler. For certainly nothing doth more hood-winke the through-discovery of Sorterers, then remissenesse and omission of inquisition, and castigation of Impostors, out of whose leauen (no doubt) but diligent animaduersion, might oft-times bould out many a subtrill and concealed Witch.

CHAP. X.

How men may by reason and nature be satisfied, concerning such as are indeede and truly bewitched.

IT followeth now, according to promise, briefly to point vnto direction, how men leauing to enquire at Witches & Sorcerers, & Impostors, concerning the sick, supposed to be bewitched, may enquire and be better satisfied by the light of Reason, which God hath giuen vnto them. Reason

70
doth detect the sicke to be afflicted by the immediate supernaturall power of the Diuell, two wayes : The first way is by such things as are subiect and manifest vnto the learned Physicion onely : the second is, by such things as are subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar view.

Those things which are manifest vnto the Physicion alone, are of two sorts. The first is, when in the likenesse and similitude of a disease, the secret working of a supernatural power doth hide it selfe, hauing no cause or possibilitie of being in that kinde or nature. The second is, when naturall remedies or meanes according vnto Art and due discretion applied, doe extraordinarily or miraculously either lose their manifest inuitable nature, vse, and operation, or else produce effects and consequences, against or about their nature. The impossibilitie of either of these in vsuall or ordinarie course of nature, doth certainly proue an infallibilitie of a superiour nature, which assuredly therefore must needs be either Diuine or Diabolicall.

This conclusion concerning the infallibilitie of a supernaturall mouer, from the like assumption, the learned and worthy preseruer of reuerent antiquitie, Master *Camden*, in his description of Cheshire, hath truely inferred vpon the miraculous prelusions, and presages, euer and perpetually fore-running the death of the heyres of the house or family of the *Briertons*. These & such like things (saith he) are done either by the holy tutelers Angels of men, or els by Diuels, who by Gods permission mightily shew their power in this inferiour world.

Whensoever therefore the Physicion shall truely discover a manifest transcending power, manner, or motion in any supposed disease, there is an vndoubted conclusion of the Author. Where likewise remedies finde concomitances, or consequences contrary to their nature, or such as neuer were, nor euer can be contingent in course of nature : this assumption truely granted, doth inuincibly inferre a transcendent force and vertue, therein neuer to be denied.

Thus

Thus how diseases, and the wonderfull accidents which oft happen in diseases, may bee by the Physicion detected, according vnto the rule of reason, whether induced by the Diuell or no, is briefly pointed at.

How the guilt of any man therein with the Diuell (which doth onely conuince a Witch) may and ought appeare, hath been before declared, and shall likewise hereafter be further made cleare.

It will not now be immateriall or vnprofitable, for confirmation, illustration, and better prooffe of those two wayes, which are distinguished to be onely subiect, and manifest vnto the Physicion, in the detection of the secret workes of Diuels and Witches in diseases, to produce one or two examples of both.

Concerning the first, *Fernelius* in his 2. booke *De Abd: Rer. causis, cha.* 16. deliuereth a history of a yong man of a noble family, who was by a violent conuulsion in an extraordinary manner long time tormented. Diuers learned Physicions remained long time doubting and vnsatisfied, both in the cause of this disease, as also of the seate or place where the cause, with any sufficient reason, might be iudged settled.

Behold very pregnant inducements of the finger of the Diuell, mouing in the disease. One was the incredible velocitie of motion in the diseased, impossible vnto the force of man: the other was, for that in all the fits and conuulsions, though very strong and vehement, his sense and vnderstanding remained in the diseased, perfect and nothing obscured, or interrupted, which in conuulsions according vnto natural causes was neuer seene, and is impossible.

The force of these reasons to euince the presidence of the Diuell, in the manner and motion of the fore-named disease, the Diuell himselfe did shortly after iustifie, declaring and professing himselfe the Author thereof in plainely expressed words.

In the fore-named booke and chapter, there is another report or relation of a man sodainely surprised, with an extraordinary

ordinarie fashion, or shape of madnesse or phrensie, wherein he vttered and reuealed things hidden, and of profound science and reuelation, not onely about the pitch and power of naturall capacitie, and the forgerie of fained extasie, but really in true and vpright iudgement, and vnpartiall discerning beyond all question and exception supernaturall. The sequel after made it good. These examples are sufficient vnto men that are wise, and with whom reason hath authoritie. I doe not affect vnaduised multiplication herein, suspecting many histories, and reports of diuers Authors.

The possibilitie of those which are here produced, beside the vnstained credit of the Author, is apertly confirmed by the holy Scripture, where, in the Lunatike the Diuell manifested himselfe by actions, onely proper and appropriate vnto the power of a Spirit: such was his casting the Lunatike into the fire, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things impossible vnto the power and nature of the Lunatike himselfe, or of his disease alone.

The man possessed among the *Gadarens*, *Math. 8. Mark. 5. Luk. 8.* likewise doth establish the same, who was knowne, and seene evidently, not to be simply or solely diseased, by those vndoubted workes, and that finger of the Diuel, when he easily brake in peeces those iron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound: so that no force thereof whatsoever could hold or binde him; as also when he vttered and spake that more then humane vnderstanding and reuelation of Iesus Christ to be the Sonne of God: a knowledge as yet vncommunicated vnto mankinde, and vnto reason impossible.

Concerning the second way of detection, subiect vnto the Physicion alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applied, are attended with supernaturall consequences, contrary to their nature, or about the same, out of the former Author, and fore-named place: there is an example also without farther straggling of vnquestioned estimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirsting, and by intolerable heate compelled to seeke any mitigation,

tigation, or extinction of his heate and thirst, in want of drinke or other fitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moisture and naturall iuice whereof, hoping the vsuall short refreshing of the tongue, he, after the first tasting thereof, immediately found (not onely that which was contrarie to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirst then before) but had instantly his mouth and iawes so fast closed and sealed vp thereby, that he hardly escaped strangling.

The reasonable doubt of the latitation of the Diuel, in this faire, harmelesse, and vsuall remedie of the tongue, thirst and drinesse, was afterward made more euident and manifest by the sodaine and swift obsession of his minde, with frightful visions, wherof as in the disposition, temper, substance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cause, so in the Apple it selfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuel, as with *Iudas Sop*, though wholesome and sauing in it selfe, so in this medicinall fruit, entred and possessed, where God permitted. The like may be said of other both outward & inward remedies, which by a Magick power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vse contrarie to their nature.

For this cause *Hippocrates* himselfe in his booke *de sacro morbo, & de natura muliebri*, doth acknowledge many accidents, as also diseases and remedies themselves to be diuine, as hauing their cause and being aboue the course of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cause, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reason discouered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly & fitly by the iudicious Physicion applyed, notwithstanding, contrary to the nature and custome of such remedies, they haue extraordinary, vnusuall, and iustly wondred effects, is there not iust matter of doubt, concerning an vnusuall, and an extraordinarie cause answerable thereto? The deepe and mysticall contingents in this kinde, and their hidden reason and cause, the vnlearned man, or hee that is not exercised in difficult discoueries, cannot

discerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguities possibly, become intelligible in euery ordinary apprehension; yet by the former easie and familiar example, euery man may gesse and coniecture at the most abstruse. The subtilty of the Diuell doth easily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the cloudes and mists of doubts and difficulties beguileth vsually the dimme sight and disquisition.

The learned Physicion, notwithstanding possessing true iudgement and learning; who doth and can warily obserue, and distinguish first the wonders of nature vnkowne vnto euery mediocrity of knowing: secondly, the true wonders about nature in due collation with nature to bee knowne, doth not easily or rashly with vulgars, erre or runne mad in the confusion of vaine and idle scruples. The wonders of nature, are such naturall diseases as are seene in their wondred and admired shapes or mixture, to haue a great likenesse or deceiuing identity with such maladies, as are inflicted by the Diuell. The wonders about nature, are such diseases, as are truly and vndoubtedly knowne and proued to haue no consistence, or power of consistence, or cause in sublunary nature.

Of the first I will heere cite no particular examples, because I haue both formerly in a former Manuall, deliuered briefly some of their generall * descriptions, denyed by no man that in ancient time was, or at this time is a iudicious and learned Physician, as also diuers of their * particular Histories in the persons of some sicke men knowne vnto my selfe.

Of the second it is heere needlesse to propound any more particulars then those about mentioned, which I esteeme for the generall illustration sufficient. In true and right decision, & distinction of the one from the other, multiplicity of consideration and circumspection ought diligently attend the intricate maze and labyrinth of error, and illusion in their deceiueable likenesses, whereby the Diuell, for
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his owne aduantage, and the perdition of seduced and beguiled men, doth sometimes cunningly hide his owne workes, and the diuelish practices of Witches and Sorcerers, from their due detection and punishment; sometimes to insnare the guiltlesse and innocent, doth iugglingly seem to do those things which Nature doth iustly challenge, not as his, but as her owne, in iust ballance weighed. It is most certaine, that the Diuell cannot possibly mixe himselfe, or his power, with any inferior nature, substance or body, but the alteration, by the coniunction of so far discrepant natures, in the vncchangeable decree of the vniuersall nature of all things, necessarily and vnauidably produced, must needs witnes and manifestly detect it in the great and mighty oddes. This is very euident and apparent in all the supernaturall workes of the Diuell, before mentioned in the generall discourse of this small Treatise or worke, whether such as were declared manifest to sense, or such as were euident to reason; whether such as were affected by the Diuell himselfe, with the consent or contract of a Sorcerer or Witch, or such as were without their knowledge, society, or contract performed by himselfe. All those supernaturall workes of both these kindes were therefore knowne to be supernaturall, because they were aboue and beyond any cause in sublunarie nature. The like the learned Physician may certainly conclude, concerning diseases inflicted or moued by the Diuell. For it is impossible that the finger or power of the Diuell should bee in any malady, but such a cause must needs produce some effect like it selfe, where true and iudicious discerning is able to finde the infallible, certaine, and vndeceiued stampe of difference. Thus farre hath been briefly declared, how the Physician properly and by himselfe doth alone enter into the due consideration & examination of diseases (where is iust occasion of question) whether naturally or supernaturally inferred. How vnfit it is here to admit euery idiot for a Physician or Counsellor (as is too common both in these and all other affaires of health) let wise men iudge.

Certainely from hence it commeth to passe, that most men for euer liue in perpetuall confusion of their thoughts in their cases, and as a iust iudgement of God against their carelesse search and neglect of learned and warranted true counsel, all certainty & truth herein doth still fly farre from them. For as in these ambiguities is requisite and necessary, a learned, iudicious, and prudent Physician; so is it as necessary that hee finde those that neede herein aduice, truly and constantly obedient vnto good reason, temperate and discrete, not mutable vpon euery vaine and idle proiect to start away, and to bee transported from reasonable, iust, and discrete proceeding, vnto vncertaine, vaine, and Empiricall tryals, since wisdom, knowledge and truth are neuer truly found, but onely of those, that with diligence, patience, and perseverance search and seeke them out. It remaineth now to come vnto the second way of detection of the bewitched sicke, which was before said to consist in such things as were subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar view, as the first vnto the learned Physician alone. As of the first, some few examples haue been propounded, so of the later let vs also viewe other some.

In the time of their puxisimes or fits, some diseased persons haue beene seene to vomit crooked iron, coales, brimstone, nailes, needles, pinnes, lumps of lead, waxe, hayre, strawe, and the like, in such quantity, figure, fashion and proportion, as could neuer possibly passe downe, or arise vp thorow the naturall narrownesse of the throat, or be contained in the vnproportionable small capacity, naturall susceptibility and position of the stomake. These things at any time happening, are palpable and not obscure to any eye without difficulty, offering themselves to plaine and open viewe.

These like accidents *Beninenius*, *Wierus*, *Codronchius* and others also, euen in our time and countrey, haue published to haue been seen by themselves. Some other sicke persons haue, in the time of the exacerbations of their fits, spoken languages knowingly and vnderstandingly, which in former time

time they did neuer know, nor could afterward know againe: as *Fernelius* a learned Physicion, and beyond excepti-
on worthy credit, doth witnesse concerning a Sicke man
knowne to himselfe.

Some Sicke men also haue reuealed and declared words,
gestures, actions done in farre distant places, euen in the ve-
ry time and moment of their acting, doing, and vttering, as
I haue knowne my selfe in some, and as is testified likewise
to haue beene heard, knowne, and seene by diuers witnesse
worthy credit in our *countrey, in diuers bewitched Sick
people.

As these examples are manifest to any beholder, which
shall at any time happen to view them: so are the examples of
the first and second kinde euident to the reason and iudge-
ment of the learned and iudicious Physicion, and all doe
therfore certainly detect and proue a supernaturall Author,
cause, or vertue, because they are manifest supernaturall
effects.

Thus haue wee pointed out briefly, the detection of the
bewitched Sicke, both by learned Reason proper vnto the iu-
dicious Physicion, and also by common sense and reason in
all men.

If men more at large please to exercise themselues in
due consideration and prooffe heereof, they shall finde more
certaine and sound satisfaction and fruit, with the blessing
and allowance of God, then can issue out of the mouthes of
Sorcerers & Witches, which God hath cursed, and disallow-
ed, and in whose hearts and mouthes, the Diuell is oft a ly-
ing Spirit.

It hath been briefly, and yet sufficiently herein proued,
that Almighty God hath giuen vnto Reason light, whereby
reasonable, temperate and sober mindes, through circum-
spect care and diligence, may see and behold whatsoeuer
is truely possible, or iust for man to know, with the fauour
and allowance of Gods grace, in the detection and discoue-
rie of the bewitched Sicke. Whosoever therefore shall con-

* See a Trea-
tise of the Wi-
ches of War-
bozys.

temne, or neglect this light, and shall aske counsell of Di-
uels and Witches, the open and proclaimed enemies of God,
doe certainly relinquish their faith, and trust in God their
Creatour, and their patience and dependance vpon his pro-
vidence.

And although it may sometimes fall out, that prospe-
rous issue doth seeme to follow the counsell of the Di-
uell, yet doth it behooue men to be wary, and not presume,
lest it proue onely a sweet baite, that by a sensible good, the
Diuell may draw their bewitched desirous vaine mindes vn-
to an insensible damnable hurt. For certainly, hee who will
rather be beholding vnto the Diuell, for his life or health,
then chuse to die in the gracious and mercifull hand of
God his Creator, can neuer expect to participate any por-
tion of saluation in him.

Thus much concerning the reasonable discouerie of the
bewitched Sicke, wherein leauing to enquire at Witches,
Sorcerers, or Impostors, vpright men, that loue or feare God,
or imbrace Religion or common reason, may and ought con-
fine and satisfie their iust desires,

CHAP. XI.

*The production of the workes of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto the
publique seate and censure of Iustice.*

WE haue hitherto considered, how the workes of
Diuels and Witches may bee both manifest to
Sense, and euident to Reason. They haue in their
diuers kindes and different performances and manners di-
stinctly beene instanced. Besides those kindes which haue
been mentioned, there may be innumerable more, among
which are those who vndertake and are enquired at, to re-
ueale treasures hid, goods lost or conueighed away, the
workes and guilt of other Witches, good fortunes, and euill
for-

fortunes in diuers affaires, desseignes and attempts ; as also those who vnderrake by enchantment, to leade captiue the wils and mindes of men, vnto extraordinarie and vnreasonable desires or lusts, hatred or loue vnto, or against this or that person, or this or that particular thing, aboue or beyond the naturall power of resistance, and the force and vsuall guidance of naturall reason, in the ordinarie course of mans will and nature : but they are all included in the same generall kinde, and common prooue of their diuellish impietie, deriued from the word of God before alledged vnanswerably, and the true consequence of Reason from thence.

The difference that is in their diuers kindes, doth onely arise from their seuerall subiects, manners, ceremonies, and rites, according to their seuerall differing contracts with the Diuell : some vsing in their workes, reuelations or oraculous answeres, of the demand of resorting people in one manner, fashion, ceremonie, gesture, and rite ; some in another, and some in none at all, certaine, or vnchangeable.

Concerning these ceremonies, with their seuerall contracts, and the manners thereof, I will not write, partly, because in this place not much materiall ; partly, because they are difficult to detect, except by the Witches owne free confession, which happeneth very rare and seldome ; partly, because they tend more to the satisfaction of curiositie then of vse, and therefore are not without some danger published. It hath now been manifested by the word and mouth of God, vnto the reason of man, how a Witch or Sorcerer may euidently appeare vnto right Reason ; namely by his voluntary vndertaking to be enquired at, for knowledge and reuelation of such things as are hidden by God from all knowledge of men, and are solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits.

The reuelation being found supernaturall, doth discouer the supernaturall Agent or Author the Diuell, whose proper act whatsoeuer man doth vndertake in part, or in whole, must necessarily buy or borrow from him, and thereby become

conuincd vndoubtedly of contract with him.

We haue produced diuers sorts of noted Practisers likewise of this inhibited contract, both in the holy Scripture expressely nominated, and also by their ordinarie common custome herein obserued in seuerall kindes.

Concerning them all, we will conclude as a corollary vnto all that went before, with the testimonie and confirmation of *Lucius Apuleius*, that famous, expert, & learned *Magician*, in his booke de *Aureo Asino*, from his long prooffe and acquaintance with the Diuel: *Damones* (saith he) *president Augurijs, Aruspicijs, oraculis, Magorum miraculis*, that is, the Diuels are chiefe presidents, haue chiefe power or authoritie are chiefe Maisters, Guides, or Rulers ouer Diuination, or reuelation by the signes taken in flying of fowles, of diuination by inspection of the entralls of beasts, of Oracles, and of all the miracles or miraculous workes of *Magicians*. They that will not beleue the holy Scripture, nor the testimony of so many men and ages, that the Diuell is the sole Author of vaine miraculous reuelations, diuinations and workes, let them credit the *Magician* his owne mouth.

As we haue hitherto viewed, how Witch-craft and Witches may be, first, by sense manifestly detected: secondly, by reason euidently conuicted: so let vs now consider, how they may be both produced vnto the barre of Iustice, and bee arraigned and condemned of manifest high treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open & professed enemy the Diuell.

Concerning the first, since it chiefly consisteth in that which is manifest vnto the outward sense, if the witnesses of the manifest magickall and supernaturall act, bee substantiall sufficient, able to iudge, free from exception of malice, partialitie, distraction, folly, and if by conference and counsell with learned men, religiously and industriously exercised, in iudging in those affaires, there bee iustly deemed no deception of sense, mistaking of reason or imagination, I see no true cause, why it should deserue an *Ignoramus*, or not be reputed

reputed a true Bill, worthy to bee inquired, as a case fit and mature for the same due triall, which Iustice, lawe, and equitie haue ordained in common vnto al other rightfull hearings, and proceedings by witnesse and testimonie, although it is likely to proue a rare plea or cause, because in reason not too frequently to be found, and farre lesse in it selfe common or vsuall, then is vulgarly reputed. It might notwithstanding, haply be more oft detected, if more diligently according to reason inquired.

The second kinde of Witch by euidence of reason discovered, is farre more frequent then the first, as appeareth by the varietie and multitude of names, which it hath branded vpon it, and the diuersitie of kindes and fashions which it hath put on. It is likewise more easily detected and proued.

A supernaturall worke or reuelation being first made truly manifest (lest preposterously we haply call a surmised, or falsely suspected offender into question, before any offence be apparent or knowne, which is an vniust iniury, and worthy of rebuke and shame with God and iust men) a supernaturall worke or reuelation (I say) being manifest, any mans guilty contract therein is proued, by his vndertaking to be enquired at therein.

That vndertaking likewise is easily knowne and discovered by those that haue inquired. The foundation of this way of inuestigation of this Witch or Sorcerer, is the Word of God it selfe before recited, and iust and true reason built therevpon, cannot fall or be shaken.

Thus hauing brought these prisoners to the Barre, I there arrest any farther progresse, and leaue them to Iustice, to the decree & sentence of the reuerend, graue, and learned Iudge, and so proceede to the third promised way of inuestigation, and inquisition of Witches and Sorcerers, according to likely presumption, probable and artificiall coniecture.

But before we arrive vpon that point, it is necessarie, that first a materiall obiection be satisfied. That is, in the fore-mentioned Iudgement of supernaturall workes of Sorcery

manifest to sense, how can any true testimony or witness be required or expected, since doubt is made, whether really or truly, or delusorily and in seeming onely, many or most things of that kinde, are seene or heard? Hereto is answered: As a true substance is seene not of it selfe simply, but in and by the outward true figure, shape, proportion, colours and dimension inherent therein, and inseparable therefrom; so the true likenesse, resemblance and pourtraiture of that substance, when separated from that substance, is as truly and as really seene. Therefore, experience doth shewe vs, that the same eye which saw the shape, proportion, and figure, together with the true substance, doth as perfectly both see and know it, when it is separated from the substance by the Art of the Painter.

As in the true miracles of God, wrought by the hand of his seruant *Moses*, the true and vndoubted substance of a truly created Serpent, was seene when it was changed from a rodde, by the outward proper and inherent shape: so as truly was an outward pourtraiture and likenesse of Serpents seene, in the false miracle of the seeming transmutation of the Sorcerers rods. For how could religion or reason condemne those miracles of the Diuell for illusions, if the liuely resemblance of miracles appearing manifestly vnto the eye, had not thereby made them knowne? For an example, or illustration, how is a juggling deccit knowne but by the eye? The sight is sayd to be deceiued therein. Therefore it doth see that which doth deceiue. Reason likewise comparing that which was seene, with that which is not seene; that is, the counterfait with the true substance, doth proue the counterfait the present object of the sight. The same eyes therefore that sawe, in the true miracles of *Moses*, the substance of a Serpent by the true inseparable inherent shape, sawe likewise the true image and picture of a Serpent, in the false and seeming miracles of the Enchaunters of Egypt. The testimony of the presentation of both vnto the eye, is as true as truth it selfe; because the word of truth hath sayd it. That

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the Diuell is as powerfull as the most excellent Painter, to represent any the most true and liuely likenesse of any creature, is in reason cleare, and hath beene also before proued.

Therefore a true testimony may be truly giuen, and iustly accepted or taken of a liuely shape, figure, likenesse, or proportion, really presented (by the Art of the Diuell) vnto the eye. All the doubt then remaining, is, to put a true difference between that which our imaginatiō doth represent vnto vs, from within the brain, and that which we see without by the outward sense. This difference wil best appeare by an example. *Fernelius* in his first book, cap. 11. de *Abd. rer. caus.* doth make mention of a man, who by the force of charms, would coniuire into a looking glasse certaine shapes or visions, which there would either by writing, or by liuely presentations so perfectly expresse and satisfie, whatsoeuer he did demand or commaund vnto them, that easily and readily it might be distinguished, and knowne by standers by. This *Fernelius* doth report that he sawe himselfe. What shall wee say herein? Was this Diuelish practice a thing doubtfull? Was it not manifest to many eyes, diuersity of beholders, and the iudicious view of a learned and discerning sight? It therefore could not be a meere imagination, but was a true outward object. Those things which are meerly in imagination (with those men who diseases deprive not of their sense or reason) are by right reason and true sense, after a short time of their preuallence, easily detected to be imaginary; but those things which are truly, really, and certainly seene, remaine the same for ever after in their due reception of sense, with vndoubted and vnchanged allowance of reason.

Hence it is, that a man in a sleep or dream, though for a short space, he doth oftentimes verily, really, and very feelingly (as it were) thinke himselfe in many actions and employments; yet when he awaketh from sleep, his sense and reason do tell him hee was but in a dreame. Many sicke persons likewise vsually, though waking, dreame of things falsely imagined, but the disease being gone, and their sense and reason there-

from recovered, they then know and laugh at the fallacies of their imaginations. By these short instances it is apparent, that it is not a thing impossible, but vsuall and familiar vnto all kinde of men that want not their common wits, to distinguish betweene those things which are only in imagination, and those which are reall and indeede.

From hence we may then truly conclude, that against the acts of Sorcery and Witch-craft manifest to sense, the due testimonies of vnderstanding, discrete, and iust men, ought to bee no lesse equiualent then against any other open acts, or crime whatsoever, whereof the Witch of *Endor* may serue to shut vp and conclude all doubt for euer herein, for an vnanswerable instance and prooffe. She acknowledgeth her guilt and crime might be made manifest vnto *Saul* in these words, *1. Sam. 28.9.* Wherefore seekest thou to take me in a snare, to cause me to dye? *Saul* likewise himselfe doth grant vnto her, the sufficiency of his testimony to cause her to dye, *vers. 9.* in these words, As the Lord liueth, no harme shall come vnto thee, for this thing; meaning, by his testimony of her fact, no harme should come vnto her. But here may be objected, that it was not his testimony of her fact of raising the vision of *Saul*, which the Witch did feare, but his testimony of her confession of her selfe to be a Witch, by promising to undertake it. The contrary is manifest by the Text, *verse 21.* See, thy hand-mayd hath obeyed thy voyce, and I haue put my soule in thy hand, and haue obeyed the word which thou seydst vnto me. And thus is the doubt concerning the sufficiency of testimonies and witness in case of Witch-craft satisfied. It now remaineth as was promised and intended, that we next view that light vnto the discovery of Witch-craft, which artificiall coniecture, probable reason and likely presumption do afford, since what sense and reason haue made manifest is already declared.

ver when he was wakened from sleep, he saw as in a dreame. **C. H. A. P.**
Many like persons likewise
visibly through waking dreame of things fully imagined
but the distate being gone, and their senses and reason restored
from

CHAP. XII.

That Witches and Witch-craft may bee discovered by probable reason and presumption.

AS from things euident to sense, and manifest to reason, there issueth a certainer of vndoubted knowledge: so in things that carry onely probabilitie, diligence doth beget and produce verity and * truth of opinion. Hence it commeth to passe, that he who truly knoweth, and knowingly can distinguish and discern the validitie, ciature, difference, and right vse of probabilities, doth most feldome in his opinions mistake or erre.

Hence also it commeth to passe, that according to seuerall measures, and degrees of diligence, study, practice, and exercise of iudging in probabilities, men doe diuersly differ, some excelling other in the merited stiles and attributes of subtiltie, Policy, Sagacity, Exquisitenes. It is true, that in probabilitie, is no perpetuall * certainty: notwithstanding, he that warily and wisely weigheth it, cannot in the vncertainty thereof but finde more certainty, then in blinde and vnlikely casualtie; then in rash attempts and prosecutions, voide of counsell, or likely reason.

For although sometimes those things which seeme most likely and probable, doe happen to proue false, yet doth nature and reason teach and inioyne vs rather to giue credit thereto; & experience doth manifest that the cause of deception therein, for the most part, doth consist in the weakenesse of mans iudging thereof aright. For in iudging of probabilities, are great odds, some things onely seeme probable to such as are * wise, learned, expert, subtill: some vnto the most exquisite Iudges alone: some to euery vulgar; some to the choise and best sort of Vulgars, and not vnto all; and in these differences, doth necessarily breed much error and mi-

* *Opinio vera est habitus circa conclusiones ex Dialecticis pronunciatis, Arist. in lib. Analyt.*

* *Certum est, quod nunquam aliter fiat, probabile, quod plerunque ita fiat, Cicero.*

* *Probabilia sunt, quæ probantur aut omnibus, aut plurimis, aut certis sapientibus, & ijs si non plurimis, at maxime probatis, quorum est inspecta Sapiaentia, Aristot.*

staking. Notwithstanding, the vertue and force of probabilitie it selfe, simply doth not deceiue, or vsually faile, but as it is diuersly and differently conceiued by men, that oft pro- ueth false, which seemed likely. *Vatem, hunc perhibemus optimum*, saith Cicero, *qui bene conijciat*, that is, wee auouch and affirme that man to be the best Prophet, or prognosticator of issues to come or happen, who hath the power and skill of right and true coniecture, which euer consisteth in the exquisite perpenſion of probable inducements.

What is among men more admired, or more worthy to be admired, then this art, this skill, this power? Who doth not know what vse, also what benefit doth arise thereby, both vnto the true warrant and allowance of action, and also vnto the maintenance, and iustification of right opinion, in counsels and deliberation? As in all other faculties and sciences, the excellencie and necessitie thereof doth brightly shine: so most apertly vnto common obseruation, it doth proue and manifest it selfe in the two seuerall professions of the *Logician* and the *Oratour*.

The *Logician* in his discrepations and questions, concerning doubts and ambiguities, by the diligence of subtile dispute, from the light of probabilitie, rectifieth the vnstable fluctuation of vnconstant opinion, and produceth through mature disquisition, and ratiocination, what is most safe, most consonant with truth, to hold, affirme, or bee perswaded.

The *Oratour* in his coniecturall state or questions, in his pleas of doubtfull and controuersed facts, or rights, wherein oft-times probabilitie and likelihood seeme to stand equall and vnpartiall vnto both parts: notwithstanding by mature, acute, and seasonable pressing, and vrging that which is most like, most reasonable, and consonant with right, with law and equitie, in the end doth bring into light, and discover, what is most equall, vp-right, and worthy to be credited, or respected. What euictions of truth and right, what conuictions of guilt and error doe dayly issue from hence,

common

common experience doth proue and demonstrate.

Thus much briefly prefixed in generall, concerning the necessitie, light and truth of probabilities; it now remaineth to consider the vse and power thereof likewise, in our particular proposed subiect of Witch-craft, which common sense doth not onely iustifie (as in all other subiects) but the word of vndoubted truth.

Almightie God, in case of Idolatrie, doth not onely publish and proclaime his detection of that great sinne it selfe, but therewith doth include whatsoeuer hath any probabilitic of respect, or reference thereto; whether in affection and inclination, or in ceremonie or superstitious shew. This is euident, *Deut. 18. ver. 9.* where he first forbiddeth his people so much as to imitate, or doe after the maners of the Gentiles; and afterward particularizeth their making their sonnes and daughters to passe thorow the fire. Likewise *Leu. 19. ver. 27, 28.* where he forbiddeth as much as the cutting of his peoples heads, or the corners of their heads round, or marring the tufts of their beards, or marking or cutting of their flesh, as was the manner of Infidels and Gentiles, in their mourning and lamenting of the dead. Likewise *Deut. 16. verse 21.* where hee forbiddeth so much as the planting of any groues of trees neere his Altar, because it was the custome, inuention, manner, and resemblance of Idolaters.

As in case of Idolatry, so in case of Witch-craft, which is likewise a kinde of Idolatry, because the worship of Diuels, Almighty God in those places of holy Writ, where hee publisheth and proclaimeth his high displeasure against Witches and Sorcerers, with that abominable sinne it selfe, doth also condemne as abominable. First, in general all kind of shew, of affection, liking, inclination, or respect thereof. Secondly, any customes, fashions, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, or gestures from thence deriued, or belonging thereto.

The first is manifest, *Leuit. 19. verse 31.* There the Prophet, from their God *Iehouah*, doth charge his people, that they do
not

not so much as turne toward, or decline toward Sorcerers or South-layers, vouchsafe to aske any question, or to respect them: and *Leuit. 20. verse 6.* hee giueth iudgement and sentence of death, against that soule that doth but turne or look toward them.

The second is likewise manifest, *Isaiah 8. verse 19.* where Almighty God noteth the superstitious peepings, whisperings, and mutterings of Sorcerers, and according to those gestures, doth with reproch terme them whisperers, mutterers and peepers: and *Deut. 18. verse 10. 11.* hee rehearseth their mumblings, & charmings, and their superstitious marking the flying of fowles, and *Leuit. 19. verse 26.* hee noteth their yaine and ceremonious obseruing of times.

If then Almighty God be so strict, that hee will not endure or tolerate so much as a friendly looking toward Sorcerers: the least respect giuen vnto them, or so much as a demand of a question at their hands, any inclination toward them, any their ceremonies, rites or superstitions, yea, so smal a matter as their very outward gestures; how can religious zeale, or the duty of man toward God his Creator, esteeme any of these, or the like, or the least of them, lesse then sufficient matter of probable doubt, presumption, religious iea-lousie, and suspicion against such men, as doe, or dare presume to imitate, to practice or vse them?

As the holy Scripture hath pointed out some few gestures, maners, and rites of Sorcerers, for an example and light vnto all other of the same kinde: so hath the dayly obseruations of succeeding times added infinite more, which haue, doe, and still may encrease, multiply, and be added, and newly inuented, and put on new different shapes and fashions, according to the fancie of the contractors therein (which are the Diuel, and man possessed by him, in whose powers and will, according to the nature, qualitie & conditions of their contract, dependeth and consisteth the variation, or innouation of ceremonious rites.

For this cause, among Authors and records both of elder
and

and later times, we reade of such diuersities and numbers of superstitious litations, dedications, performances, and diabolicall solemnities. As therefore wee haue manifested such superstitious rites, ceremonies and gestures of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture hath noted and deciphered; so let vs propound some other by after-times, and other Authors obserued.

Some haue vsed in their intention or execution of their Diabolicall workes, or in the way of prelusion one kinde of *ceremonious homage, and some another. Some do neuer attempt nor enterprise a Diabolicall execution, but with mumblings, whisperings, and secret sounds, and words heard grumbling in their mouthes: as *Theophrastus* in his 9. booke of herbes and plants doth witnesse, concerning certaine Magicians in gathering *Helleborus*, and *Mandragora*; and as is likewise vndoubtedly discovered, by the great attributes that are by many famous Writers ascribed vnto the Caball of the Iewes, and vnto letters, characters, words, syllables and sentences superstitiously pronounced.

*See Master Perkins discovery of Witchcraft, chap. 2. pag. 48

Galen writeth, that a certaine Sorcerer by vttering and muttering but one word, immediately killed, or caused to dye a Serpent or Scorpion. *Beniuinius* in his booke *de Abd. morb. caus.* affirmeth, that some kinde of people haue beene obserued to do hurt and to surprise others, by vsing only certaine sacred and holy words. It is apparant likewise, that others haue accomplished their diuelish ends, by apparitions, shapies, or figures, raised or coniured into glassies; as *Fernelius*, an eye-witnesse, in his booke *de Abdit. rer. caus.* doth publish. Some receiue power and vertue from the Diuell vnto their Diabolical preparations, by certaine inchaunted herbes, or medicines which they mixe and gather, sometimes with brasse hooks, sometimes by Moone-shine in the night, sometimes with their feete bare and naked, and their bodies clothed with white surplices, as *Pliny* reporteth. Some are reported, to obtaine of the Diuell their desired ends or works, by deliuering vnto the Diuel bonds or couenants, written

with their owne hands. This *Serres* the French Chronicler doth report, confessed by certaine Witches, in the raigne of *Henry the 4.* And *Mr. Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth make mention of a young man, who deliuered a bond vnto the Diuell, vpon certaine conditions, which bond was written with the young mans owne bloud, and vpon his repentance, and the earnest zealous prayer of the people vnto God in his behalfe, was redelinered, and cast into the Church in the view and sight of the whole assembly there and then being. Some deriue an effectual vertue vnto their decreed Diuelish works, by hanging characters or papers about the neck, as *Pliny* reporteth. Some practise to bring their Diuelish ends vnto issue, by coniured images and pictures of waxe, golde, earth, or other matter, as *Thomas Aquinas* in his booke, *de occultis Natura* witnesseth.

Holingshed, page 534. doth chronicle the execution of certaine Traitors, for conspiring the King of Englands death by Sorcerous and Magicall pictures of waxe. The same author, page 1271. doth report, that in the twentieth yeare of Queene ELIZABETH, a figure-flinger (as hee termeth him) being suspected as a Coniurer or Witch, sodainely dying, there was found about him (besides bookes of coniuration, & other Sorcerous papers or Characters) the picture of a man wrought out of Tynne. Some late Writers haue obserued, that diuers Witches by such pictures, haue caused the persons thereby represented secretly to languish and consume, as was lately proued against some late famous Witches of *Torke-shire* and *Lancaster*, by the testimonies beyond exception of witnessees, not only present, but Presidents in their tryall and arraignment. Some execute their hellish intentions by infernall compositions, drawne out of the bowels of dead and murdered Infants; as *Ioannes Baptist Porta* in his booke *de Magia naturali*, doth from his owne knowledge affirme, and thereto the *Malleus Maleficarum*, with others doe assent.

Some practise also Sorcery by tying knots, as *Saint Ierome* testifi-

testifieth in *vita Hilary*, concerning a Priest of *Æsculapius* at *Memphis*. Some practise Witch-craft by touching with the hand or finger only, as *Biniuenius* sayth. Some in their Sorcerous acts or coniurations, vse parchment made of the skinne of Infants, or children borne before their time: as *Serres* reporteth from the confession of Witches, in the time and raigne of *Henry* the fourth detected. Some for the promoting of their Diuelish deuices, vse the ministry of liuing creatures, or of Diuels and Spirits in their *likenesse, as histories report, and *Theocratus* in his *Pharmacentria*, seemeth to credit, iaducing there a Sorceresse, who by the power of her bird, did drawe and force her Louer to come vnto her.

Perkins discourse of Witchcraft, chap. 2. pag 4

This seemeth not impossible vnto a Witch, by the multitude of liuing shapes, which the Diuell in former ages hath vsually assumed, termed *Faunes*, *Satyres*, *Nymphes*, and the like, familiarly conuersing with men. Some bring their cursed Sorcery vnto their wished end, by sacrificing vnto the Diuell some liuing creatures, as *Serres* likewise witnesseth, from the confession of Witches in *Henry* the fourth of *France* apprehended; among whom, one confessed to haue offered vnto his Diuell or Spirit a Beetle.

This seemeth not improbable, by the Diabollicall litations and bloody sacrifices, not onely of other creatures, but euen of men, wherewith in ancient time the heathen pleased their gods, which were no other then Diuels. And rather then the Diuell will altogether want worship, hee is sometimes contented to accept the parings of nailes; as *Serres* from the confession of certain French Witches doth report. Some Authors write, that some sorts of Sorcerers are obserued to fasten vpon men their Magicall mischieuous effects, & works, by conueying or deliuering vnto the persons, whom they meane to assault, meates, or drinckes, or other such like; as is euident by the generally knowne power of the Magicke cups of the inchaunted Filtra or loue draughts: and as seemeth iustified by S. *Augustine*, in his 18. booke de *Ciuitate Dei*, making mention of a woman who bewitched others, by

delluering onely a peece of cheefe. Some of our late Countymen haue obserued, some Witches to mischiefe or surprise such as they intend maliciously to destroy, by obtaining some part or parcell of their garments, or any excrements belonging vnto them, as their hayre or the like.

It is not to be doubted that the Diuell, that old *Proteus*, is able to change and metamorphise his rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, into what new shapes or formes are best suitable to his pleasure and his fellow-contractors most commodious vses, and purposes. Concerning all the former mentioned, although it bee exceeding difficult; nay, an impossible thing for any man to auouch euery of them true in his owne knowledge or experience; yet for that some kindes of them wee may assuredly know and beleue from God himselfe, who hath in his sacred word nominated both apparitions of the Diuel, as also, incantations, charms, spels & familiarity with Spirits; as also for that reason doth demonstrate, that there may be many more kinds, besides those named of the same likenesse, nature abused, and diuelish vse; and for that vnto othersome, the credit, worth and merit of those Writers by whom they haue been obserued and published, doth giue weight & estimation, it may be approued as an infallible conclusion, that wheresoeuer any of them or the like, being diligently enquired after, are either really found, or in apparence or shew resembling, that there (with the concurrence of circumstances, and approued precedence of a manifest worke of Sorcery consenting) that there, I say, it ought to be sufficient & vncontroled matter, or occasion of iust suspicion & presumption against the particuar, in whom they are by iust witnesses free from exception, detected and palpably known, practised & exercised. As we haue now briefly recited and called to mind some sorts of such ceremonies, rites, superstitions, manners, instruments and gestures as are annexed vnto that kinde of Sorcerie or Witch-craft which consisteth in action: So let vs also recite some other sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitions, which belong vnto that

kind

kinde of Sorcery which is conuerfant in diuinations, reuelations of things hidden, predictions, and prophecies. Diuinations according to nature or art, as *Cicero* distinguisheth in his first booke *de Diuinatione*, we doe not intend or purpose, but that diuinatiō which the same Author in the same place doth refer into a power aboue man, which hee there termeth the power of the gods, between whom and diuination, the *Stoicks* make this reciprocation, *Si sit Diuinitio, Dij sunt, si Dij sint, est Diuinitio*; that is, if there be right diuination or prediction of things to come not contained in Art or Nature, certainly that diuination is of the Gods, as reciprocally where there are Gods, there is diuination. Here we see playnely, not onely the antiquity, but the direct originall of diuinations, and that they do manifestly deriue themselues from Idol gods, from Infidels, from Idolaters.

This is further cuident likewise, by the generall current and report of all histories, euen from the first beginning and foundation of *Rome* by *Romulus*, as through all ancient writings and writers, the frequent mention of *Augury*, *Aruspicy*, *Extispicy*, and the like, doth plentifully witnesse. The holy Scripture also and Word of God doth testifie the same; *Dent. 18. verse 9, 10, 11.* where diuination by the flying of fowles, by the obseruation of times, and the like, are reckoned among the abominations of the Nations, or Gentiles.

The originall then of Diuinations issuing from Diuels (because from false gods, the gods of the heathen and Idolaters) let vs for the better noting of the abomination it selfe, obserue and point out some of their ceremonies, manners, and superstitions also.

Some in old time vsed to diuine, as by the flying of fowles, so by viewing of lightning, by monsters, by lots, by inspection of the starres, by dreames, *per monstra, & portenta, fulgura, sortes, Insomnia, per Astra*, as *Cicero* testifieth at large in his bookes *de Diuinatione*. Some did vse to draw their Diuinations out of tubs, or vessels of water, whereinto were cast certaine thin plates of siluer and gold, and other preci-

ous Jewels, by which the Diuels (which Infidels ignorantly called their gods) were allured to answere vnto demands, doubts, and questions, as is by *Psellus* described, and was v-
sual among the *Affyrian* coniectors. Some deriued their Di-
uinations from looking-glasses, wherein the Diuell satis-
fied vnto demands and questious, by figures and shapes
there appearing.

This kinde of Diuination was called *καταπνευμαντεια* where-
vnto came very neere and was like *χουσαλλομαντεια*. Some
fetch their Diuinations by lots, taken from points, letters,
characters, figures, words, syllables, sentences, which kinde
of diuination is distinguished by the name of *κληρομαντει*.
If wee should number vp euery particular kinde of shape,
wherein Diuination doth shrowde it selfe, it would proue a
long and tedious voyage, not onely through fire, water, ayre,
earth, and other farre distant and diuided parts of the wide
and spacious world, but through siues, riddles, the guts and
bowels of the dead, and many other seeret haunts & holes,
wherein as the inuincible *Labyrinths* of intricate illusions,
the diuell doth shadow and hide his subtile insidiation of
silly deceiued man.

Hee that desireth more curiously to reade other particu-
lars herein, I referre him vnto *S. Augustine, de natura Demo-*
num, and to *Camerarius, de Diuinationum generibus*. It is suffi-
cient that the truth and possibilitie of these kindes of Diuina-
tions and the like, with their ceremonies, rites, customes, and
superstitions; as also their detested originall, end, vse, and
abomination, is esteemed diuellish by the Word of God, and
his most sacred voice, wherein vnder those kindes of Diuina-
tion, by the flying of fowles, obseruation of times, *Deut. 18.*
verse 10, 11. and vaine gazing and beholding the starres,
Isaiah 47. 19. he displayeth and iudgeth the nature and qua-
litie of all other the like, couered by what styles or names so
euer. The enumeration of any more sorts, might increase in
number, and aduance curiosity, but can adde nothing in sub-
stance or materiall vse.

We

We haue summarily (wherein our information is sufficient competence) produced some few sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitious gestures in both kindes, that is, both such as belong to that kinde of Sorcery, which consisteth in act, and working, as also that which is exercised in Diuination, prediction, and reuelation.

The generall rule and reason is the same, and extendeth it selfe equally against both.

Let vs then in the conclusion thus conioyne them both together. What man is he among men so blind, who beholding in any man the former ceremonies, rites, prelusions, or gestures, being suspicious notes, markes, cognizances and badges of Sorcerers and Witches, in either kinde, and doth not thinke that he may with good reason doubt the ordinarie correspondence of fruits, and workes answerable thereto? Vnto the former presumption, if circumstances of time, place, instruments and meanes, fitting such diuelish Acts opportunity, and the like doe adde their force, doth not iust occasion of doubt increase? For illustration and example, let vs suppose a person of a curious and * inquisitiue disposition in things hidden or inhibited, a man voide of the feare and knowledge of God, a searcher after Sorcerers, and their diuelish Arts, educate among them, by kindred, affinity, or neighbour-hood, with them hauing generall opportunity vnto inchoation into that Diabolicall mysterie, a man likely and prone to become a receptacle of Diuels, expressed by his long obserued, or knowne flying from or hating all occasions or places, where the name, mention, worship, or adoration of Almighty God is in any kinde vsed; a man out of whose cursed lips hath at any time beene heard, the * renouncing of God, or voluntary profession of loue & friendship vnto the Diuell (all which with horror sometimes my owne eares did heare, in a * woman at an open assise, being there indited vpon suspicion of Witch-craft.)

Let vs yet further consider in the same man, an extraordinary alienation of himselfe, from all societie and company with

*Mast. Perkins in his discourse of Witchcraft, chap. 1. pag. 11.
*Perkins chap. 2. pag. 48. discourse of Witch craft.
*She was easie and ready to professe, that she renounced God and all his workes, but being required to say that shee renounced the Diuell and all his workes, she did refuse it with this addition of the reason, (videlicet) for that the Diuell had neuer done her any hurt.

Serres, from
the confesion
of Witches
detected and
censured in
the raigne of
Henry 4. of
France.

with men (for that familiar conuersation with Diuels, begetteth an hatred and detestation, both of the remembrance of God or sight of men) likewise a frequentation or solemne haunting of desert * places, forsaken and vnaccustomed of men, the habitations of *Zym* and *Iym*, graues and sepulchres. This seemeth, *Math. 8. Luke 8. Marke 5.* in the possessed true.

The possessed and the Witch, are both the habitacles of Diuels; with this onely difference, that the Witch doth willingly entertaine him.

His custome of haunting tombes and sepulchers, in the one doth make it probable, and credible in the other. Likewise a solitary solacing himselfe, or accustoming abroad oft, and vsually alone, and vnaccompanied at times and houres vnusuall and vncouth to men, as the most darke seasons of the night, sitting the darke workes, and the workemen of the Prince of Darknes.

Let vs yet more particularly obserue this man branded with the former note, seeming or professing to practice workes aboue the power and possibilitie of man, to threaten or promise to performe, beyond the custome of men, whether in generall, or toward any particular. In a diuellish intended action bent against any particular, likewise wee may diligently examine any manifest speciall prouocation, first giuen: secondly, an apparent apprehension thereof expressed by words, gestures, or deeds: thirdly, intention, or expectation, succeeding the prouocation, starting out oft times, or intimated by any rash, vnaduised, or sodaine proiect, of headie and vnbridled passion: fourthly, the opportunitie sutable vnto such an intended desseigne, as time and place competent for accessse, speech, sight, or receiuing from, or giuing vnto the particular, against whom such diuellish thoughts are set, any thing, wherein any enchanted power or vertue is vsually hid and conueighed.

After a Sorcerous deede is thus certainly obserued to proceede, we may then further with vigilant circumspecti-
on

on view, whether ought may be detected, iustly arguing his reioycing pride, or boasting therein, that standeth iustly suspected, or ought that may proue or expresse his doubt, or feare of discouery, his guilty lookes, cunning euasions, shifting, lying, or contradictory answeres, and apologies vnto particulars vrged.

These circumstances and the like, though each alone and single, may seeme of no moment or weight, yet concurring together, or aptly conferred, they oft produce a worth from whence doth issue full and complete satisfaction. *Veri similia singula suo pondere mouent, conseruata multum proficiunt* (saith Cicero) that is, euery single circumstance hath his weight and vse, but consenting and concurring together, they do much aduantage. Since then what vertue or power soeuer, circumstances and presumptions, doe vsually and generally vnfold in all other subiects or matters whatsoeuer, the same equally and as largely, reason doth here display and offer in this of Witch-craft: why should not the like practice thereof herein also be vrged and found, as likely and succesfull? I do not commend or allow the vsuall rash, foolish and fantastick abuse of circumstances, nor their wresting and forging, nor the coniuration or raising vp of their likenesse, and shadows, without any substance or truth (as is too common and vulgar) out of meere fancy or defect of true iudgement, without the due manifestation of a certaine crime first in this kinde assured.

But where all the former circumstances doe truly and really occurre, or most of them, or the most materiall amongst them with an apparant vncōtrolled precedent euidence of an vndoubted art of Sorcery, and are not indirectly wrested or guilefully extorted, but directly proued, and fairly produced and vrged; what man inioying his common sense or reason, can be ignorant, what a large scope and faire field they do yeeld to sent, to trace and chace the most hidden and secret guilt of Witches whatsoeuer, out of their vtmost shifting most close couerts and subtile concealments?

I doe not affirme circumstances and presumptions, simply in themselves sufficient to proue or condemne a Witch : but what reasonable man will or can doubt or deny, where first a manifest worke of Sorcery is with true iudgement discerned, and knowne certainly perpetrate : that the former circumstances and presumptions pointing vnto a particular, doe giue sufficient warrant, reason, and matter of calling that particular into question, and of inioyning & vrging him vnto his purgation and iustification from those euill apparances, whereby through the differencies, iarres, contrarieties, and contradictions of the false faces and vizards of seeming truth (because identity and vnity is properly and solely found with truth it selfe inuolable and the same) guiltinesse is oft vnable to finde a couert to hide it selfe, but rubbed or galled vnto the quicke, doth breake out and issue forth in his owne perfect and vndeceiuing likenesse. It may be obiected, that it doth commonly fall out, and is so oft seene, that the hearts of Witches are by the Diuell so possessed, so hardned and sealed vp against all touch, either of any conscience, or the least sparke of the affections of men left in them, that there is no possibility, or hope of any preualence, by the pressing of any presumptions or circumstances, which they for the most part will answere with wilfull and peruerse silence.

This is and may be sometimes true, yet is no sufficient reason, why due prooffe and tryall should not alwayes diligently be made herein, since first experience it selfe doth witnesse a manifest benefit thereby : secondly, the like reasonable course and practice is knowne both vsuall, fruitfull, and effectuall in all other disquisitions, and inquisitions whatsoeuer : and thirdly, the Diuell himselfe, the Witches and Sorcerers great and graund Master, though of farre fewer words then Witches, as seldome speaking at all, and abounding with farre more subtiltie and cunning ; yet is he not able by all his art or cunning, alwayes to hide his owne workes, but by presumptions and circumstances, wise and vnderstanding hearts

doe oft discerne and discover them, as is by dayly experience scene and testified, and is confirmed by the prooffe which all holy and godly men haue euer had thereof. And to this purpose, and for this cause the holy Scripture doth require Gods chosen children, to sift and trie the Spirits, whether they be of God or no, that is, whether they bee of his holy Spirit, or of the euill spirit which is the Diuell.

Although therefore God for his owne secret decree, or purpose, do permit the Diuell sometimes to hide and shadow the guilt of his associates, Witches and Sorcerers, from the sight or depreheusion of man, and thereby, sometimes, frustrate mans iust endeouour and duty of their discouery; yet doth hee not totally or altogether herein subiect, or captiuate, or abridge mans power or possibility of preualence, euen against all the power and force of Diuels, as oft-times our dullest senses cannot choose but witnesse.

Could the Diuell, or their owne craft whatsoeuer, deliuer the Sorcerers from destruction out of the hands of *Saul*, who iustly destroyed them al out of the land of Israel, *1. Sam. 18. verse 9.* or out of the hands of *Ioshua*, who according to lawe, rooke away or abolished all that had familiar Spirits, and Southsayers, *2. Kings chap. 23. verse 24.* The extirpation of these Southsayers, by those Princes, was commended of God, and by his Lawe commanded, *Leuit. 20. 27.* The same Lawe of God commaundeth, that no man be iudged or put to death, but by the mouth of two witnesses, from whence it is necessarily collected, that the workes of Sorcery are not alwayes hidden, but oft-times so open, that they may be manifestly noted; otherwise, how could they be testified, which vnto their condemnation the Lawe doth euer presuppose and necessarily commaund?

Neither is this Lawe of God any thing discrepant from the common equity of all lawes, or from reason it selfe: first, for that many workes of Sorcery do immediately in their first view, manifest themselves to the sense, as is euident, by the miraculous workes of the Enchaunters of Egypt, practi-

sed in the sight of Pharaoh King of Egypt. Secondly, for that many workes are apparent manifestly to Reason, in which, though the sense cannot immediately discerne, or take notice of their quality and authour; yet by necessary inference and euidence of reason, they are certainly and demonstratiuely proued to issue from the power & force of Spirits and Diuels, as hath beene formerly declared, concerning both workes and also diuinations, prophecies, and reuelations hidden frō all curiosity and possibility of man. Thirdly, for that circumstances and presumptions doe with good and likely reason call into question, and iustly charge with suspicion (as hath beene instanced concerning the performers & practisers of ceremonious rites, superstitious gestures, actions & manners vsual vnto Witches & Sorcerers. Since then, as is before proued, Almighty God doth inioine a necessity of testimonies, vnto all condemnations & iudgements of death whatsoever, and testimony doth alwaies necessarily include a manifestation of whatsoever is testified, either to sense, or reason, or both; it followeth as a necessary conclusion vnto all that hath bin sayd: that from things either manifest to sense, or euident to reason, issueth wholly and solely, not only the reasonable and likely way of detection of Witches, but the very true way by God himselfe, in all true reason intended and commanded. And from this way it is, both by multitudes of examples, by experience and reason manifest, that neither Witches, nor the Diuel himselfe is altogether able to hide or defend their guilt. Diligence therefore herein duely and carefully exercising it selfe certainly, shall not, nor can proue the Lawe of God vaine, nor the owne indeuour frustrate or voyde, although haply difficulties and impediments may sometimes interrupt, as in all other cases and affaires is vsuall.

Thus hath beene made manifest how Witch-craft is discoverable by sense, and euident by reason; likewise, that it is no more inscrutable or hidden from detection in the inquisition thereof, by signes of presumption, probable and likely

con-

coniection or suspicion, then all other intricate or hidden
subiects, or objects of the vnderstanding what soeuer. For,
although presumptions are alone not sufficient prooffe, yet
doe they yeeld matter and occasion of diligent and iudicious
inquisition, which is the reasonable way and due method of
vpright proceeding, and the common, hopefull and war-
ranted path vnto all detections, in all other cases of doubt
and difficulty whatsoeuer; wherein I see no cause or reason,
why iudicious, wary & wise practice and prooffe, weighing &
pressing circumstances into the bone & marrow, should not
equally, in case of Witch-craft, as in al other cases of iudge-
ment & inquisitions (though not euer because that exceeds
the nature of presumption) equally, I say, and as oft should
not confound the guilty, and chase and winde out as faire an
issue.

Certainely, if men would more industriously exercise their
sharper wits, exquisite sence, and awaked iudgements, ac-
cording vnto the former reasonable, religious, and iudicious
wayes, exempt from the burden and incumbrance of blinde
superstitions, traditionarie and imaginarie inuentions and
customes, no doubt, but experience would yeeld and bring
forth in short time, a much more rich increase of satisfaction,
and more happy detection in iudiciall proceedings.

It is true, that in the case of Witch-craft many things are
very difficult, hidden and infolded in mists and clouds, over-
shadowing our reason and best vnderstanding.

Notwithstanding, why should men be more impatient or
deiected, that in matters of Witch-craft, many things are oft
hidden from our knowledge, and discouery, when the same
darknesse, obscuritie, difficultie and doubtfulness, is a thing
ordinary in many other subiects beside, as necessary vnto vs,
and concerning which it may be no lesse truely said, that in
this life of mortalitie, much more is that which is vnkowne,
then that which is knowne and reuealed vnto vs.

Hence is that ancient saying of the Philosopher: *Hoc tan-
tum scio, quod nihil scio*, that is, so few are those things, which

are demonstratiuely, truely, and certainly knowne, that they are nothing in comparison of the infinite number and multitude of such things, as are either onely probable, or obscure or inscrutable.

For to deny that God hath giuen vnto man a great measure of knowledge in many things, were not onely grosse darknesse and blindnesse, but great ingratitude, yea impiety. Neuerthelesse, it were also as great fatuity not to see or acknowledge, that God hath mixed this knowledge with much intricate difficultie and ambiguitie, which notwithstanding he doth in his wisdom more or lesse reueale, distribute and dispense, in seuerall measures, vnto seuerall men, according to their seuerall cares, studies, indefatigable paines, and more industrious indeauour, in seeking and inquiring it: in defect whereof more commonly then either in Gods decreed restraint, or natures abnuence, mens desires and labours are so often annihilate.

CHAP. XIII.

The confutation of diuers erroneous wayes, vnto the discoverie of Witches, vulgarly receiued and approued.

AS true religion doth truely teach the true worship of God in that true manner which he requireth, & commandeth: so superstition in an vnapt measure or manner, doth offer vp & sacrifice her vaine & foolish zeale or feare. Vnto her therefore and her sacrifice, thus doth Almighty God reply; Who required this at your hands? I hate and abhor your Sabbathes and your new Moones, *Isaiah 12. 13.* The heathen Oratour could say, *Religio continetur cultu pio Deorum.* True religion consisteth in the holy and true worship of God. Vnto the aduancing of the worship of the true God, the extirpation of Witches and Witch-craft (because it is the most abominable kinde of Idolatry) is a speciall seruice.

uice, and acceptable duty vnto God, expressely commanded by himselfe, *Deut.* 17.3,4,5.

In the performance therefore of this worship, as it is solely and truly religious, to seeke their extermination by those meanes, and in that manner, which Almighty God doth approve and allow: so with misgouerned zeale or feare, in the ignorance, or neglect of the right manner or way, inconsiderately to follow vnwarranted pathes thereto, is plaine Superstition.

Iulius Scaliger, in his third booke of Poetrie, thus describeth very liuely the nature of Superstition. *Superstitio satisfacit ad notandum eum habitum, quo metumus, aut Deum sine ratione, aut ei opera attribuiamus quae opera ne cogitauit quidem vnquam ille*, that is, this word Superstition doth serue to set forth such an habite or disposition of minde, wherein wee worship or so feare God, as is voide of cause or reason, or vnto our owne hurt or damage, we attribute vnto God, as of God those workes or things, which Almighty God himselfe neuer thought or intended. The word which the Greekes vse for Superstition, is *δυσσεμνηστία*, *inconsulta & absurda diuina potentia formido*, that is, in absurd, and ill-aduised feare or worship of God, which certainly is there, where he neither requireth it, nor is true cause or reason either of such worship, or in such sort or manner.

In this special part therefore of the worship and feare of God, namely, in the discouery of Witch-craft and Sorcery, as wee haue before laboured to finde out those wayes which are lawfull, iustificable, and allowed: so let vs now briefly display the folly and vanity of erroneous and blinde pathes, pointing deceitfully thereto; that wee seeke not superstitiously to serue God, in our inioyned and commanded duties of the discoueries of Witches, with our owne vanities or follies, rash inuentions, or deuices, but in reasonable, iust, discrete and religious proceeding, which is onely and solely acceptable with God.

In former ages and times, haue been published by diuers writers,

writers, many ridiculous traditions, herein so vaine, and so farre vnworthy any serious confutation, that they scarce deserue so much as bare mention.

Of this sort are the imagined profligations of the fits of the bewitched, by beholding the face of a Priest, by being touched by hallowed oyntments, or liniments, by the vertue of exorcisation, of incense, of odours, of certaine mumbled sacred or mysticall words.

I will therefore omit these, as by time it selfe worne exoletè found worthlesse, and almost of later writers left namelesse, and will onely oppose and examine such later experiments, as doe in our time and countrey most preuaile in esteeme.

CHAP. XIII.

The casting of Witches into the water, Scratching, Beating, Pinching, and drawing of blood of Witches.

IT is vulgarly credited, that the casting of supposed Witches bound into the water, and the water refusing or not suffering them to sinke within her bosome or bowels, is an infallible deteccion that such are Witches.

If this experiment be true, then must it necessarily so be, either as a thing ordinary, or as a thing extraordinary: because nothing can happen or fall out, that is not limited within this circuit or compasse.

That which is ordinary, is naturall, as likewise that which is naturall, is ordinarie. *Aristotle* in the second of his *Ethicks*, saith of that which is naturall, *quod aliter non affertur*, that is, ordinatily it is not otherwise, then euer the same. Fro whence it doth follow by good consequent, that whatsoeuer is ordinary, must be naturall, because it keepeth the same course and order, which is the property of nature.

For this cause *Scaliger* in his booke *de subtilitate* saith, *Natura*

natura est ordinaria Dei potestas; that is, nature is the ordinarie power of God, in the ordinarie course and gouernment of all things.

If then this experiment in the tryall of Witches, bee as a thing ordinaary (as it is vulgarly esteemed) it must bee found likewise naturall. If it cannot be found naturall, it cannot be ordinarie. That it is not, nor cannot be naturall, is manifest.

First, for that the ordinarie nature of things senselesse and voide of reason, doth not distinguish one person from another, vertue from vice, a good man from an euill man. This our Sauiour himselte doth confirme, *Math. 5. verse 45.* God maketh his sunne to arise on the euill, and the good, and sendeth raine on the iust and vniust.

Nay, we may further obserue in the booke of God, and also reade in the booke of nature and common experience, that the common benefit of nature, is not onely vouchsafed vnto all wicked men indifferently, but euen vnto Diuels themselves, who doe not onely participate in nature the common essence, faculties and powers, proper vnto the substance and nature of all other Spirits; but also doe exercise these powers and spirituall forces vsually vpon other inferiour natures, subiect vnto their supernaturall nature, reach and efficacie, as is oft seene in their workes euen vpon the bodies & goods of the blessed Saints and sonnes of God.

Hereby then is euident, that nature cannot take notice, or distinguish a wicked man, no not a Diuell, and therefore much lesse a Witch.

But here may be objected, that diuers hearbs & other simples, produce many strange and wondred effects, by an hidden secret, and occult quality and property in nature, though there appeare no manifest qualitie oft-times in them, by which in reason or probabilitie they should or can bee effectually thereto. This Physicians do dayly witnesse and proue true.

Why then may there not bee likewise yeilded the like hidden power, or antipatheticall vertue in the nature of

the element of water, and thereby a Witch bee detected; as well without knowne cause or reason thereof in nature; notwithstanding naturally the euils or diseases both of body and minde, are both detected; and cured by elementary substances or compositions, in which there is no manifest known proportion therewith?

It is truly answered, that although in this supposed experiment of the disposition of the element of water towards Witches, casualtie may haply sometimes seeme to iustifie it true; yet is not this sufficient to euince it a thing naturall. Those things which are naturall, necessarily and euer produce their effect, except some manifest or extraordinary interception or impediment hinder.

Thus fire doth necessarily, ordinarily, and alwayes burne and consume any combustible matter or fuell being added thereto, except either some manifest or extraordinary hindrance oppose it. The like may be sayde of all other elements for their natural effects in their proper objects. Natural medicines likewise, if rightly accommodated with prudence, art and discretion vnto the right disease, doe neuer faile their vsuall productions or effects.

This, Almighty God in his holy writ doth confirme, and long and aged experience of many hundreths of yeares hath successefully witnessed, wherein the ancient records of all learned Writers, haue euer testified innumerable medicinal herbs and drugges, certainly and truly to bee euer the same. Present times do likewise see and witnesse it, and no man doth or can doubt it in the right proofs. Concerning any such nature or custome in the element of water, in the refraction of Witches, who was as yet euer able to write and fully resolve, or proue it ordinary, necessary, certaine, euer or for the most part, not sayling as is in course of nature most infallible and neuer doubted? What former ages haue successefully vouchsafed the mention of truth or certainty therein? Hath Almighty God, at all, so much as approved any opinion or thought thereof? Is it not rather to be iustly doubted,

that

that it may bee esteemed among the abominations of the Gentiles, which God in his people doth detest, *Deut. 18. verse 9*? Doe all men in our time, or good and iust men a- nouch their owne prooffe in the tryall thereof? Or contrari- wise, do not many wise, religious, learned and equall minds with reason reiect and contemne it? Dooth Law as yet establish it, or reason proue it? How can it then be proposed as equiualent with those reasonable meanes or wayes, of iust proceedings or tryals, which God, his diuine Lawe, his law of nature, iudgement, reason, experience, and the lawes of men haue euer witnessed, perpetually and onely assured cer- taine and infallible?

It wanteth the vniuersall testimony of former ages and Writers; in this our age it is held in ieałosie with the most iudicious, sage, and wise: It hath no reasonable prooffe, no iustificable tryal hath dared to auiouch it vpon publike record, no lawe hath as yet, thought it worthy of admittance; and the Lawe of God is not proued to proue or approue it. If it had beene a thing naturall, ordinary, of necessary, or of cer- taine operation or power, and therein so evidently remarke- able, it is impossible it should haue escaped authenticall ap- probation, or the same notable testimonies, which all other tryed truths haue euer obtained. From the former premises therefore we conclude, that it cannot be a thing naturall, ne- cessary or ordinary. If it bee not ordinary, then is it not al- wayes the same; if not alwayes the same, then is it some- times fayling; if sometimes fayling, then is it not infallible; if not infallible, then in no true iudgement or iustice to bee trusted or credited. It now remaineth to enquire, whether being proued false as ordinary, it may not be proued true as extraordinary (for to esteeme or grant it, both is an impossi- bility in nature, and an absurdity in reason.) Let vs grant, it may be iudged and deemed extraordinary; the next doubt then remaining is, whether being extraordinary on miraclu- lous, it be of God or of the Diuell.

The reason why saine men suppose it should be of God,

is, for that the water is an element which is vsed in Baptisme, and therefore by the myraculous & extraordinary power of God, doth reiect and refuse those who haue renounced their vowe and promise thereby, made vnto God, of which sort are Witches.

If this reason be sound and good, why should not Bread and Wine, being elements in that Sacrament of the Eucharist, belikewise noted and obserued to turne backe, or flye away from the throates, mouthes, and teeth of Witches? and why, (if for the former reason, the water being an element in the Sacrament of couenant, made with God, in the first initiation into the faith, doe for that cause refuse to receiue Witches into her bosome, and thereby giue an infallible proofe of a Witch?) Why, I say, should not by the same reason Bread and Wine, being elements in the Sacrament of confirmation and growth of faith, refuse and fly from those much more, whose faith and promise made vnto God in riper and more vnderstanding yeares, is by them renounced? And why for that cause, should not Bread and Wine become as infallible markes and testimonies vnto the deteccion of Witches? If the reason be good in the first, it must necessarily be the same in the second; and if it fayle in the second, it cannot be good or sound in the first. Neither doth it or can it stand with any good reason at all, that because so small part of the element of water, is set apart vnto that religious seruice in the Sacrament; therefore, the whole element of water, or all other waters must thereby obtaine any generall common propertie aboue the kinde or nature. Neither is it as yet agreed, or concluded generally among the most learned, and reuerend Diuines, whether that small part of water which in particular is set apart, or vsed in the Sacrament, doth thereby receiue any manifest alteration at all in substance, essence, nature, or quality. If then that part of the element of water it selfe, which is hallowed into that holy vse, be not manifested, or apparantly proued to be thereby indowed with any vertue, much lesse can it communicate any

any vertue vnto other waters, which did not participate therewith in the same religious seruice. Except then there may be proued by this religious vse of water, some more endowment of sense or religion therein, then is in other elements, why should it more fly from a Witch then the fire, then the ayre, then the earth? The fire doth warme them, the ayre flyeth not from them, but giueth them breathing; the earth refuseth not to beare them, to feede them, to bury them. Why then should the water alone runne away or flye from them? It may bee answered, that it is a miracle, whereof therefore there neither can nor ought reason in nature to be demaunded or giuen. If it be a miracle, it is either a true miracle, which onely and solely doth exceede the power of any *created nature, or is a seeming miracle by the power of the Diuell, working effects in respect of mans reason, nature, and power supernaturall and impossible; notwithstanding confined and limited within the generall rule, reason and power of vniuersall nature, which he * cannot exceed or transcend, being a finite creature, and no infinite Creator.

Miracles of the first kinde, are raising from the dead the sonne of the widdow of Sarepta, by *Elias* 3. of the kings, 17. the diuiding the water of *Iorden* with *Elias* cloake, 4. of the *Kings* 2. the curing of the sicke by *S. Pauls* handkercher, *Act.* 5. 19. the raising *Lazarus* by our blessed Sauour and the like.

Miracles of the second kinde, are all the workes of the Enchanters of *Egypt*, *Exod.* 7. which were onely diuellish sleights, cunning * imitations, counterfets, and Diabolicall resemblances and shadowes of the true myrales; wrought by Almighty God, in the hand of his seruant *Moses*.

If this myracle, or this miraculous detection of Witches by water, be of this later kinde, it is of the Diuell, and is not to be esteemed or named, where the Name of God is feared or called vpon.

For although the cunning fraude of the Diuell, aboue and beyond all capacite of the weake sense and vnderstanding

* Non est creator, nisi qui principaliter format: nec quisquam hoc potest, nisi vnus Creator Deus, Aug. 3. de Trin.
* Augustinus 3. de Trin. Alii potest si non prohibetur, Daemon: Alii non potest, et si permittatur, quem uo- dum homo potest, ambulare si non prohibetur, volare non potest, et si permittatur, * Petr. Lomb. Sent. lib. 2. Dist. 7.

of man, doe so lively oft-times cast before our eyes, the outward shape and similitude of the myracles of God; that man is not able easily to distinguish them, or at first sight to put a true difference: yet must men studiously, and circumspectly bee aduised herein, lest rashly they confound, or equall the vile and abiect illusions of that damned creature the Diuell (though neuer so wonderfull in our eyes) vnto the infinite power of the Almighty Creator, in his true and truely created myracles, which is an high dishonour vnto our God, and accursed impiety.

For this cause, the holy Scripture hath admonished and warned the weakenesse of humane vnderstanding, not to be transported by signes and wonders, nor to trust or giue credit to euery myracle: and our Sauour himselfe, *Math. 24. verse 24.* doth furnish his Disciples with carefull warning herein. And *S. Iohn*, in his Reuelation fore-telleth, that in the later dayes and times, the Diuell and the great Whore of Babylon, shall with great signes, wonders, and myracles, seduce and deceiue the last ages, and people of the world.

For this cause, saith Saint *Augustine, tract. 13.* vpon the Gospell of Saint *Iohn*, *Miraculis decipi non debemus*, that is, he that doth myracles, is nothing, if they bee not done in vnity and truth.

Since then myracles are of no validity, except certainly and truely knowne to be of God; and since also it is not easie for euery Spirit to discern therein; let vs duely examine and sift this our supposed and proposed myracle in the tryall and detection of Witches. *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus* in his *Synagma iuris lib. 2. cap. 12.* in a tractate concerning the relicks and Monuments of Saints, together with myracles, doth giue very honest, sound, and substantiall direction.

First, that all credited myracles be found and allowed by religious lawes and authoritie.

Secondly, that the persons by whom they are first reuealed or knowne, or by whom they are auouched, be *testes idonei, omnium exceptionum maiores*, that is, that they be worthy witnessnes

nesses of vndoubted and vntained credit and worth, free from all iust exception, of holy life, and vntained conuersation. Without these cautions (saith he) no myracles ought to be esteemed, or receiued as of truth.

How farre our vulgar tryall of Witches, by the supposed miraculous indication and detection of them by the water, is different from this care or respect, this equitie, religion, or humanitie, common practice doth openly declare, when without allowance of any law, or respect of common ciuilitie, euery priuate, rash, and turbulent person, vpon his owne surmise of a Witch, dare barbarously vndertake by vnciuill force, and lawlesse violence, to cast poore people bound into the water, & there deteine them, for their owne vaine and foolish lusts, without sense, or care of the shameful wrong, or iniury, which may befall oft-times innocents thereby.

Though this kinde of tryall of a Witch, might haply proue in it selfe worthy to be allowed, yet is it not in euery priuate person iustifiable, or tolerable, or without warrant of authoritie in any sort excusable. The manner therefore of this vulgar tryall, must needs with iust and honest mindes, vncontrouersedly, and vndoubtedly, be rusticall, barbarous, and rude. Now to returne againe into the truth of the myracle it selfe in this tryall.

First, let vs enquire with *Petrus Gregorius*, what religious lawes or authoritie haue admitted it as true.

Secondly, what religious, reuerend, iudicious, graue, or holy Spectators, or eye-witnesses doe auouch it. Let vs yet farther proceede with the same Author, in the fore-named *Synagma*, lib. 34. cap. 21. and by some other rules, farther examine this myracle, if it bee well and duely auouched and credited, concerning the being thereof, whether that being be not a being of the Diuell, and of his myracles. *Conatus omnis Dæmonum* (saith that Author) *unum habet generalem scopum, operibus Dei se obijcere, ei debitum honorem subfurnari, pios hominum animos sibi lucrifacere, & a vero Deo retrahere.* That is, the works of the Diuell haue one generall scope; namely, to oppose

oppose themselves against the workes of God, to rob God of his honour, to draw the hearts of men from God, and to gaine them vnto himselfe. Let vs now consider the fore-named miracle by these rules.

Concerning the approbation thereof by any religious lawes or authority, I haue neuer read my selfe, nor haue heard by others, of any authentike suffrage from classicall Author, and with good reason, I may conceiue and iudge a nullitie therein.

Concerning any religious, learned, and iudicious Spectators and auouchers of this myracle, whose faith and credit may be wholly free from all iust exception, it hath euer been a difficult and hard taske to furnish any true sufficiencie or competencie in this kinde, though multitudes of swarmes of deceiued Vulgars, continually and violently obtrude their phantastickall sominations. Since then as yet there doth no manifest law stand vp to patronage this myracle, and the learned, religious, and holy man able to discern and iudge, and free from exception, is not at all, or hardly to be produced or found to auouch or countenance it true; it may bee with good reason suspected, and that reason may iustly disswade all sodaine, rash, or hastie credit or trust thereof. Now let vs examine, if it were vndoubtedly to be assumed as true, whether being true, it be not as truly of the Diuel. And first let vs consider, whether it doe not oppose the workes of God, which was the first direction of *Gregorius*. It is herein truly conuicted, because the nouelty and supposed miraculous force and might thereof, doth first vsually and easily intise vnsetled braines, rashly to forsake the wayes of iudgement and iudicious legall proceeding, which is the ordinance and worke of God: secondly, doth imbolden staggering and vnresolved minds presumptuously without warrant to expect, to aske or seeke a signe or miracle, which ordinarily or vnnecessarily required, our blessed Sauior apertly condemneth, *Math. 16*. An adulterous & vnbeleeuing generation doth seeke a signe or miracle. And as herein it directly

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ly opposeth against the decree and work of God; so likewise by giuing occasion and way, that supposed miracles may become vulgarly common and ordinary, whereby the true miracles and miraculous workes of God also may grow with yndiscerning men of lesse esteeme, vile and of no accompt. *Nam miracula Dei assiduitate viluerunt.* (sayth S. *Augustine*) the miracles and miraculous works of God, being oft seene, become of smal or no reputation. The second tryall of a false miracle, was the robbing of God of his due honour and praise, which in this proposed miracle is partly proued, by making the extraordinary worke or vse of miracles ordinary, and thereby derogating from the power, worth and nature of Gods true miracles (as is before sayd) partly, by vnthankfull vnder-valewing, omitting or relinquishing the ordinary meanes of tryals and detections of doubtfull truths, which God hath made and giuen in his good grace; and therefore their contempt and neglect is a manifest robbing of God of his due prayse and glory therein. The third tryall of the Diuels property in miracles, was the seducing of mens hearts from God vnto himselfe, which in our supposed miracle may be necessarily concluded. For if the miracle it selfe bee vpon good grounds before alleaged; rightfully deemed to bee of the Diuell, it must necessarily follow, that whatsoever esteeme or reputation is giuen thereto, is a secret sacrifice of ignorance or superstition vnto the Diuell, and an hidden and couert seduction from God. And thus hath been proued, or at least, with good reason alleaged: First, that the tryall of Witches by water, is not naturall or according to any reason in nature. Secondly, if it be extraordinary and a miracle, that it is in greater likelihood and probability a miracle of the Diuell to insnare, then any manifest miracle of God to glorifie his name, which is the true end of right miracles. Concerning the other imagined trials of Witches, as by beating, scratching, drawing blood from supposed or suspected Witches, whereby it is sayd that the fits or diseases of the bewitched doe cease miraculously; as also concerning the burning

ning of bewitched cattell, whereby it is sayd, that the Witch is miraculously compelled to present her selfe.

These, and the like, I thinke it vaine and needlesse, particularly or singly to confute, because it doth directly appeare, by their examinatioⁿ, according to the former rules produced, against the naturalizing of the detection of Witches, by casting them into the water, that first they are excluded out of the number of things naturall: secondly, that being reputed as miracles, they will also bee rather iustly iudged miracles of the Diuel, then of God, by the former reasons which haue stripped the supposed miraculous detection of witches by the water, of any hopefull opinion that they can be of God.

CHAP. XV.

The exploration of Witches, by supernaturall reuelations in the bewitched, by signes and secret markes, declared by the bewitched to be in the body of the suspected Witch, by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched.

THere remain as yet other miraculous explorations of a Witch, carrying in their first view a far more wondered representation then any or al the former explorations. One is, when persons bewitched, shall in the time of their strange fits or traunces nominate or accuse a Witch, and for a true testimony against him, or her, thus nominated, shall reueale secret markes in his or her body, neuer before seene or knowne by any creature; nay, the very words or works, which the supposed, or thus nominated Witch shall be acting or speaking in farre distant places, euen in the very moment and point of time, while they are in acting or speaking; all which I haue sometimes my selfe heard and seen proued true. This is reputed a certain conuiction of a Witch. Another miraculous tryall of a VVitch and like vnto this, wonderfull is, when a supposed VVitch required by the bewitched,

witched, doth touch him or her (though when vnknowne or vnperceiued by the bewitched themselves,) yet according to the prediction of that issue by the bewitched, he or shee immediately are deliuered from the present fit or agonie, that then was vpon him or her, which I haue also my selfe seene. For the better discouery of truth in these so wondred difficulties, let vs first recall to minde these few obseruations in our former Treatise determined and proued. First, that the Diuel doth many miraculous and supernatural things meere-ly simply and alone of himselfe, for his owne ends, and without the instigation or association of a Witch. This was made manifest by his conference, disputation and speech with *Eua* after a miraculous manner, out of the body of the Serpent, when as yet neither Witch, nor Witch-craft were come into the world. Secondly, that the Diuell is able to obtrude or impose his supernaturall or miraculous workes vpon men, against their knowledge, liking, will, or affection, and being vnrequired. This is cleere by his transuection of the body of our blessed Sauour, as also by his violent casting of the bodies of the possessed, amongst the people mentioned in the Gospell. Thirdly, let vs not here forget specially, that hee is able to transmit and send vnto, or into men vnrequired, and without their desire or assent, secret powers, force, knowledge, illuminations, and supernaturall reuelations. This was proued by the possessed in the Gospell, who from a secret and hidden reuelation and power, aboue and beyond themselves, were able to vtter that high mystery, as yet hidden from the world, that Iesus was the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not be knowne vnto them, by their owne reason or nature, being aboue and beyond all reason or nature, and by grace only then begun to be reuealed vnto the blessed Disciples themselves. To thinke that the possessed could haue that knowledge equally with the Disciples by the same grace, were impious derogation from their Apostolicall priuiledge and prerogative therein, vnto whom did properly belong the first fruits thereof alone.

This supernaturall reuelation therefore was transfused into the possessed by the Diuell, who could not be ignorant of the Lyon of *Iuda*, the mighty destroyer of his spirituall kingdom, long before the disciples were borne, or capable of knowledge. And thus hauing recalled these obseruations, from them doe issue these necessarie inferences. First, that all supernaturall acts or workes in men, are not to bee imputed vnto those men. Secondly, that for this cause those supernaturall workes, are onely to be imputed vnto men which the Diuell, according vnto contract or Couenant which those men do practise and produce.

And for this cause, in the inquisition of Witch-craft, when we haue truely first detected an act, done by a spirituall and supernaturall force (because it is in all lawes iniurious; to accuse of any act, before it be certainly knowne the act hath been committed) then, and not before, wee ought in deuour directly and necessarily to proue the contract, consent, and affection, of the person suspected, vnto, or in that supernaturall act, that being no lesse essentiall, to detect and discover the true and vndoubted Witch, then the supernaturall act, being certainly apparent, doth vndoubtedly proue the Diuell, and his power therein.

This equall regard, in case of Witch-craft, ought to bee carefully ballanced, without which vaine and vnstable men shall euer at their lust and pleasure, vpon affections and passions, be priuiledged with impunity, to lay vniust imputations, and vse wrongfull violence and oppression, beyond all equitie, or reason.

When therefore men that are prudent, iudicious, and able to discern, do first aduisedly vpon good ground and reason, adiudge a supernaturall act evidently done, or at least worthy to be suspected: secondly, shall by iust and reasonable prooffe, or at least liuely and faire presumption, detect the contract, affection, or consent of any man in that act, then and not before, is the accusation, inquisition, and inditement of Witch-craft, against any man equall and iust,

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For since a supernaturall worke can bee truly and simply no act of a naturall man, and is the immediate hand & power of a Diuell (as is formerly proued) it is the mans consent, contract and couenant alone, in the act with the Diuell, that being detected and discovered, doth infallibly and essentially proue him a Witch, and not the act it selfe.

These obseruations, and considerations, first necessarily prefixed, let vs now proceed vnto the two former propounded experiments of the miraculous detection of Witches.

It is necessarily true, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are inabled in their traunces, to fore-tell the sequel of the supposed Witches touch: likewise, that the nominated Witch, shall accordingly by her touch immediately free and dispossesse the Sicke or the bewitched of their agonies.

It is as necessarily true also, that it can solely, proceede from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are able in their traunces to nominate the most secret and hidden marks in the bodies of the suspected Witch, her present speech, and actions in farre distant places, and the like, but whether these miraculous Reuelations, with their answerable euent, ought to bee esteemed iust convictions of the persons thus by a supernaturall finger, pointed out and noted; as also whether they proceede of God or of the Diuell, is very materiall, to examine and consider.

If they proceede from God, their end, their extraordinary necessitie and vse, bent solely vnto the immediate speciall glory, or extraordinary glorification of God therein, will euidently declare.

What more extraordinary glorification of God can be pretended in the needfulnesse of a miraculous detection of Witch-craft, then of any other sinne committed, as immediately against God, and with as high an hand? Witch-craft is indeed one kinde of horrid renuntiation, and forsaking of God, but there are many more kinds much more hellish then

* Herein the Diuel affecteth to imitate the power of God in his holy Prophet, who was able by his diuine reuelation to make knowne what the King spake in his Priuy Chamber.

2. Kings verse 12. chap. 6.

He herein also counterfetteth the Diuinitie of our Saviour, seeing Nathaniel, when he was vnder the Figge-tree. Iohn 1. 48.

this secret and concealed defection: as the open cursings, wilfull blasphemings, and spitefull railings vpon God, euen vnto his face, professed hatred and contempt of God.

Among many Offendors in these kindes, after their owne long prouoking continuance therein, and Almighty God his vnspokeable long suffering and patience: some few sometimes haue been made hideous spectacles and examples vnto the rest, of the infinite power and iustice of God, his vn-sufferable displeasure, indignation and direfull reuenging wrath. In this number was, for some time, *Nebuchodonosor*, and *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, and in later times *Iulian* the *Apostata*, and others the like. Many other as high Blasphemers, and despisers of God, notwithstanding haue been permitted to escape any such miraculous punishments, or fearefull notorious exposings vnto the worlds view.

Rabshakeh, railing on the liuing God, in the open view and hearing of the men of *Israel*, and *Olofernes* denying the God of heauen, were not miraculously, or by any immediate hand of God smitten, but were suffered to grow on, vntill their haruest of confusion was ripe. That high degree of blasphemie against the Sonne of the liuing God, hanging vpon the Crosse for the sinnes of mankind, committed by the cruell & hard-hearted Iewes, in scorning, scoffing, and spitefull derision both of God in heauen, *Math. 27. verse 43.* and also of the eternall Saviour of the world, descended from heauen, was not by God then extraordinarily reuenged (as the incomparable greatnesse of the sinne might seeme to require) but was in Almighty God his iust iudgement, suffered, vntill in the due time, their owne execrations, and cursings of themselues, and their posterity, thereby to hasten and purchase the effusion of that holy innocent blood, did fall vpon them so heauily, that their whole Nation, People, and Kingdome, became extirpate, vile, and vagabond for euer vpon the face of the earth. It is recorded in the *Reuelation, chap. 13. verse 5, 6, 7.* concerning the Beast, that he opened his mouth vnto blasphemy against God, his Tabernacle, and the Saints; that

that he spake great mighty blasphemies, yet power was giuen vnto him to continue, and preuaile therein many yeares, and a large space of time.

By these few examples it is euident, that neither the height, the nature, the quantitie, nor the qualitie of the most abominable, or prouoking sinne, most odious vnto God and men, doth vsually, or alwaies draw downe from heauen vpon it selfe a miraculous immediate hand of Gods wrath: We may easily instance the like, concerning the sinne of Witch-craft, which is our particular subiect.

Although by the hand of his holy seruant Saint *Paul*, Almighty God did miraculously smite the Sorcerer *Elymas*, and as writers report, *Simon Magus*, by the hand of *St. Peter*, multitudes of societies of other Sorcerers, South-sayers among the *Caldeans*, escaped not onely the hands of *Nabuchodonosor*, in his wrath; but as it seemeth in the propheticie of *Daniel*, they liued many yeares in high esteeme, fame, and renowne, both in their owne Nation, and also in forreine Countreys; yea through the world. There is no doubt, that *Egypt* likewise did abound with swarmes of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture, and all times and writers report. Among the people of God also, the Israelites, it is manifest that diuers Sorcerers and Witches did shrowd themselves, and liued with impunity, as appeareth by the Witch of *Endor*, which king *Sauls* feueritie, in their generall extirpation thorow the whole kingdom, had notwithstanding passed by, and left vnespied, as also by that speeciall note and commendations, from Gods owne mouth and word of *Ioshua*, that is, that hee had taken away from amiddest his people, all the Enchanters & Sorcerers: by which it is likely and cannot be denied, that through the lenitie or carelesnesse of former Princes, they formerly had long securely there breathed. That God doth not vse by myracles to detect all, or most Enchanters, Magicians, or Witches, is farther made vndoubted; because it should follow then and thence necessarily, that he hath both in the first ages of the world, ordained lawes, and ordinary legall court-
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ses of proceeding against them in vaine; as also for that hee doth, in the holy records of his sacred word, make knowne his Decree, that they shalbe permitted to liue and continue vpon the face of the earth among other, and as other vnrepentant sinners, vntill his second comming, and the last day of eternall doome, *Reuelat. chap. 22. vers. 15.* without shalbe Enchanters. If his Iustice and seuerer iudgement should by his miraculous power make so narrow search amongst them, as ordinarily to root them out, it were impossible any one of them should escape his all-seeing reuengefull hand, to suruiue vnto his generall decreed day of sentence, and dreadfull doome, of all kinde of sinnes and sinners, which both in iustice vnto some, and mercy vnto other some, his infinite goodnes and wisdom hath decreed, shall not be frustrate. Although therefore Almighty God doth sometimes stretch forth his mighty hand miraculoufly to smite, or bring into light some horrid sinnes and sinners, his extraordinarie power therein sometimes onely extended, at his owne good will & pleasure, doth not iustifie the presumptuous expectation of the dispensation thereof in any particular. God who is the God of order, and not of confusion, doth not ordinarily dispense his extraordinarie workes, nor vsually confound indifferently, so different natures in their end and vse, and his own decree. Nature it selfe doth also teach an impossibilitie that which is extraordinary, to becom or be expected ordinarie. In that way which is ordinarie, the industrious, the diligent, the prouident man therefore doth with carefull perseverance vprightly walke. The slothfull, onely the intemperate, the improvident man, either by folly or ignorance loseth, or by idle sloth forgetteth, or omitteth, his ordinarie way or opportunitie, and ridiculously hopeth or trusteth vnto the redemption thereof, by extraordinarie contingents or euents.

Thus it hath appeared, that in regard of any more speciall or extraordinarie glorification of God, in the detection of Witches, rather then of other as great and as abominable sin-

sinners, there is no needfull or necessary vse of myracles.

The second consideration was, whether they are not rather of the Diuell, then of God ; as also, how they may bee any iust conuictions of the supposed or suspected guilty.

Wee will first herein examine the touch of the supposed Witch, immediatly commanding the cessation of the supposed fits of the bewitched. That this is a false or Diabolicall myracle and not of God, may be iustly doubted.

First, because the holy and blessed power of working myracles (among which, the healing the Sicke or the possessed was not the least) was neuer of God dispensed, to haunt or follow the touch of wicked men, or Sorcerers or Witches.

Secondly, for that the true myracles of God (which were euer dispensed, either for the common good of his Church, or the declaration of his glorious truth, or for the extraordinarie punishment and destruction of euill men) did neuer obscurely, or indirectly, proue themselues or their ends, but in their manifestation were inabled to ouer-shine cleerely, all the fogges and mists of doubt or question.

The contrary hereunto in this our suspected myracle is manifest, wherein is ridiculously imagined, that the blessed gift and vertue of healing the sicke, descended from God aboue, may be reputed in the hands of a Witch : a signe or testimonie of his or her guilt and impiety, which euer hath been, and is in it selfe a speciall grace and fauour of God, and was euer vsed rather as a confirmation of the truth of Gods Ministers and seruants. Let vs now cōsider how this miraculous touch and the efficacie thereof, may bee any iust conuiction of a witch. No man can doubt that the vertue wherewith this touch was indued, was supernaturall. If it bee supernaturall, how can man, vnto whom nothing simply is possible, that is not naturall, be iustly reputed any poore Agent therein? If he cannot bee esteemed in himselfe any possible or true Agent, then it remaineth, that he can onely be interessed therein, as an accessary in consent ; as a Solicitor or Seruant vnto a superiour power. If that superiour power (as is before proued in the falsehood of his myracle) be the Diuel, the least reasona-

ble doubt remaining whether the Diuel alone, or with the consent or contract of the suspected person hath produced that wonderfull effect: with what Religion or reason can any man rather encline to credit the Diuels information in the mouth of the bewitched (who is the common accuser of God to men, and of men to God) then in requisite pittie, pietie and humane respect vnto his owne kinde to tender the weakenes of fraile man, against the subtilty of the deceitfull Diuel. Shall man with man find lesse fauour, then the Diuell with man against man? That the Deuill is able by the permission of God, to annex or hang this myracle vpon this or that particular, is manifest, by the possessed in the Gospel; vpon whom and their naturall actions and motions, he cast supernaturall consequences or concomitances. Was not their speech attended with supernaturall reuelation, their hands with supernaturall force, to rend and teare in pieces iron chaines and bonds? If the Diuell be able to transfuse, or cast these miraculous concomitances or consequences alone, and without allowance of any man or person where God doth permit; how is it in any equity or reason iust, that these impositions of the Diuell should be imputed vnto any man? God forbid, that the Diuels signes & wonders, nay his truths should become any legall allegations or evidences in lawe. We may therefore conclude it vniust, that the forenamed miraculous effect by the Diuell wrought & imputed by the bewitched, should be esteemed a signe or infallible mark against any man, as therefore conuincd a Witch, for that the Diuel and the bewitched haue so deciphered him. These like miraculous stratagems may be exercised vpon any man, or vnto any mans actions may be deceitfully or fraudulently by the Diuell conioined or apted. This therefore doth not infer any mans guilt therein. It ought be a mans owne proper contract therein with the Diuel, necessarily and directly proved, that shall iustly condemne him. This contract may bee and is plainly detected, by lifting and considering, that mans voluntarily assisting or promoting, promising, or vndertaking such supernatural works, with answerable performance thereof,

thereof, as hath been said, concerning the miraculous consequence of the touch of a suspected Witch; so may be determined concerning the supernaturall reuelations of secret markes or signes in her body, according vnto the prediction of the bewitched, as also of the discovery of the present actions, gestures, and speeches of supposed witches in farre distant places. Diuers examples I my selfe haue seene in these kinds: I must necessarily acknowledge a more then naturall power therein, because farre beyond the nature, reason, or power of man. But there is notwithstanding sufficient matter of doubt, whether such reuelations, secret signes, and marks, though found in the named persons or parts true, as also the right pourtraitures and shapes of the supposed or accused Witches, though neuer of the bewitched before seene, and yet by the bewitched truly described; there is, I say, notwithstanding, sufficient matter of doubt, whether they are not very insufficient to charge or accuse any particular thus pointed out or marked. The Lawe and expresse commandement of God doth allow of no reuelation from any other Spirit, but from himself, *Isa. 8. 19.* Whether these reuelations are immediately of God, if their due examination by the rule of his Word *do not clearly determine, rash or hasty perturbation or passion ought not presume it. The laws of men also admit no supernatural illuminations or reuelations, as any grounds of iust tryals or decisions of right or truth. It followeth therefore necessarily, that they are voyde, and ought to be of no force or credit in vpright iudgement with iust and righteous men. It may bee objected, that truth is found in these reuelations, and truth ought bee of regard. It may hereto againe bee replied, that although truth in it selfe be great, and ought and will preuaile; yet in the abuse, euill vse, or corrupted, or depraued end thereof, it ought not deceiue nor is of force. The Diuell, as all other cunning lyers and deceiuers and imitators of that his art, vsually mixe truths with lyes, that those truths giuing credit vnto lyes, men may beleene both and so bee deceiued. It was euer the onely safe way of lying, to face & guard it with some plausible

* ESTIN A-
MARTIA A-
NOMIA.
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sible truths. In the former reuelations therefore, representations & true descriptions in the bewitched, of persons of secret marks and signes, of speeches, gestures, and the like, although the Diuel be found true, or speaking truth, yet may he notwithstanding haply be therein also a lyer, while truly describing their persons, shapes, marks, manners and gestures, speeches & the like, he falsely and lyingly addeth thereby a seeming or deceiuing necessity of their guilt, as if therein or thereby necessarily inferred. Wee may boldly yet further affirm, that if it were possible for the Diuel to speak the truth, truly, wholly, vnpartially; so as it might appeare plaine, euident, manifest, yet ought wee not from him belecue it or receiue it. This is in our blessed Sauior made vndoubted, who in the Gospel oft rebuked him euen speaking truth, as also in *S. Paul* rebuking the Pythonisse, truly affirming, & acknowledging him the seruant & Minister of God. If the diuel then speaking truth, may not be allowed or credited; how shal reuelations, miracles or oracles proceeding fro him, be they neuer so true, or approued with any shew of true Religion or reason, become any iust probations or allegations in lawe, equity or iustice? It may bee objected, that many times men haue bin by dreams & visions admonished of secret and concealed hideous murders, & other euil facts committed priuily, whereby the Malefactors and their guilt haue bin admirably produced vnto due punishment. This truth is euen by Heathen Authors witnessed, & in our time the like hath hapned, and is testified by witnesses, whose faith & credit is free from al exception. Although this be true & cannot be denied, som reasons notwithstanding do perswade that it is more safe to incline, to suspect that these like visions or dreams are rather of the Diuell, then rashly to determine or decree that they are immediately of God. First, for that though haply they might be sometimes so granted, yet ought we not too swiftly or sodainly so belecue, for that by the liuely counterfai of the true visions, dreams and reuelations of God, the Diuell hath euer vsually practised to be taken and esteemed as God: the allowance whereof by men is high blasphemy against God,

God, and ignorant and occult adoration of Diuels.

Secondly, for that no visions, dreames, or reuelations, ought to be esteemed of God, originally or immediately, which do respect or answer curiositie of knowledge or desire, as most of the forementioned kindes vsually are wont. Thirdly, for that the visions of God, as they are euer bent into an extraordinary diuine end, and an vniuersal good, so are they euer dispensed by the ministry of men, who haue manifest commission, or warrant from God, either mediate, or immediate. The mediate is proued by the manifestation of the meanes: the immediate, by the euident reflexion of a manifest diuinity, in the power and authority thereof. For as it is said of the word of God, *Heb. 4. verse 12.* so must it necessarily be concluded of all the true myracles, visions, or reuelations of God, that they are liuely, and mighty in operation.

This is secne in the miracles wrought by *Moses*, which the Sorcerers themselves could not deny to be the finger of God, *Gen. 8. verse 19.* This is likewise secne in *Simon Magus*, who could not but acknowledge the miraculous power of the holy Ghost, by the laying on of the Apostles hands, so far forth that in the consideration of his owne guilt, & of a conuincing power or deitie therein, he desired them to pray for him.

The same is also witnessed in the seruants of the high Priests who being sent with wicked malice, and cursed preiudice to intrap and betray our Sauour, were by the miraculous power of his word and works compelled to proclaime and confesse; *No man euer spake like this man.* All these notes or marks, of the true visions, dreames, or reuelations of God, are euer generally, or for the most part wanting in the forementioned kindes, which being neuer free from some suspicious note of godly ieaousie, therefore ought not but with much doubt and difficultie be at any time admitted. It may bee as yet further objected. How can it otherwise bee deemed, then that God himselfe is the Author of the former reuelations, since they tend vnto his glory in the detecting and punishing of so hideous sinnes? It is hereto answered, that Almighty God is able to use and command euill instruments vnto good ends.

He hath ordained the Diuell himselfe to be the common accuser of all sinnes and sinners. It is therefore no inconuenience nor repugnant vnto religion or reason, to affirme, that the Diuell himselfe, in the fore-mentioned visions or dreames, by the commandement or permission of God, is the producer of the fore-mentioned murders, euil facts, vnto light & iudgement. God for his owne glory permitteth the Diuel by these his wonderfull reuelations, to detect the named sinnes and sinners. The Diuell also for his owne end, and desire of their destruction, doth execute the Decree of God for their iust punishment,

But here may be objected againe, that the Diuell in his reuelations (as is before mentioned) is not to bee beleued or credited, although he spake truth. How then may men be allowed, to admit or make vse of these his visions or dreames in this kinde.

It is hereto replied, Almighty God himselfe doth both permit and heare the Diuell when hee accuseth, as is manifest by holy Scriptures. Therefore among men, and by men also, his accusations may be heard and considered. Notwithstanding, since hee is oft a false Accuser, and the enemy of God and truth, he may not be credited in himselfe, no nor truth it selfe simply as in his mouth. Vpon his accusation therefore, if truth and certainty doe declare it selfe, the force and vertue thereof, and not the accusation doth conduct vpright men and mindes, vnto proceeding and iudgement; it is not the Diuels accusation, but the truth it selfe, vnto which haply that accusation did point inquisition, that by it selfe made manifest, is therefore credited.

And thus with breuity hath the vanity both of all superstitions, and also of all miraculours wayes of the detection of Witches and Witchcraft, been in some few of their particulars generally vnmasked. There are, and may be many more besides these, which in these, and with these will likewise perish and vanish, being by the same rule and reason compelled vnto the golden tryall of sincere religion and affection.

The sole, true and warranted way, wherein uprightly men may

may walke herein before God and men, hath beene in this Treatise formerly disquired and discourfed. Therein (intelligent Reader) thou maist obserue two sorts of manifest Witches: The one is offered vnto the outward sense, in his apparent and palpable Sorcerous workes: The other is made euident by plaine demonstration out of the sacred word of truth. It hath euer preuailed with vulgar custome (because most sensible of the most grosse harmes more open to sense) to cast chiefly, or for the most part, the eye and common ieaousie vpon the first kinde. The other kinde (because vsually left noted of sense, and therefore esteemed least harmefull to men) is both in the iust protraction or production thereof vnto the barre of Iustice much more rare and seldome, & also in common and vulgar obseruation is little or not at all considered.

Hence it proceedeth, that most men do doubtfully resolue thereof; Yea, some men admire a worth therein, others esteeme it of reasonable and commendable vse, vnto the satisfaction of their curiosities, in things secret and hidden from the knowledge of man.

But since Almighty God hath more specially (as is in the former Treatise proued) both giuen most certaine and plaine indication, and information of this kinde, by the expresse fruits thereof, and the necessary inference of familiarity and consultation with other Spirits then himselfe, *Isaiah 8. verse 19.* and hath also so oft in so diuers places iterated the great abomination, and his high detestation thereof, it is not onely the sauing duty of all private men to take more diligent and warie notice thereof, thereby to eschew and flye from it, according vnto Gods expresse charge and command; but it is the charge of Princes & Magistrates also, to fulfill thereby the commanded execution of Gods holy wrath and vengeance vpon it; for which pleasing seruice and sacrifice vnto him, Almighty God hath vpon the euerlasting records of his holy word fixed for euer the so memorable praise, & comendation of those famous Princes, who haue dedicated themselues vnto his will therein. As it hath been declared by what meanes Witches and Sorcerers, in two kindes seuerally may be manifestly

festly charged, challenged, and proued as certaine and vndoubted Offendors: so also how farre presumption, probabilities, or matter of iust suspicion in both may blamelessly guide, and conduct vpright and equall inquisition, hath been briefly instanced. From all which it is euident: first, that God in nature hath not shut vp in this subiect, the common entrance and doore of iudging, trying or deciding as equally, as in other cases: secondly, that beside and beyond that way, which God hath left open vnto sensible and reasonable progresse, herein it must necessarily bee preposterous presumption to breake out, or ouer-reach, as also in steade of that plaine approued and authentike walke for the tryalls of truth; the iudgement & condemnation of others, and the establishment of mens owne thoughts, and mindes, to seeke irreligious footing, in the *Labyrinth* of amazing wonderments, and reasonlesse traditions and experiments. To walke in these wayes, is no better then to runne away from God, in whom to trust, though with some restraint, and coercion of our longing vaine desires, and satisfactions, is truly far more happy then out of the conduct of his allowance, therein to inioy the fullest measure or ouerflow of all the most obsequious influencies of humane blisse. If true religion and pietie could settle this consideration, the common folly of misgouerned, petulant, inordinate, and intemperate expatiations in this kinde, would not only in priuate men more vsually blush and be ashamed, but a more euen, straight, and vninterrupted way, being prepared therby vnto iustice, would vsually bring forth a much more happy issue, then now is ordinary. Thus farre the loue of truth, which I haue euer carefully sought and studied, hath offered violence vnto my priuate thoughts and meditations, exposing the vnto the hazard of publike view.

As my labour is not lost vnto my selfe, and my owne more confirmed satisfaction thereby: so if there be therein any good vnto the common good, I know, good men will not for the thorne, refuse the fruit, for defect of elegance in stile, or obscurity of worth in the Author, quarrell with the matter it selfe.

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